LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS
And other EMINENT
Britiſh SEAMEN.

CONTAINING
Their Perſonal HISTORIES, and a Detail of all their Public SERVICES.

INCLUDING
A New and Accurate NAVAL HISTORY from the earlieſt Accounts of Time; and clearly proving, by a continued Series of Facts, our uninterrupted Claim to, and Enjoyment of, the Dominion of our SEAS.

INTERSPERSED
With many curious PASSAGES relating to our DISCOVERIES, PLANTATIONS, and COMMERCE.
The whole ſupported by proper Authorities.

By *JOHN CAMPBELL*, Eſq;

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BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

THE kind reception this work has already met with, from the public, makes it altogether unneceſſary to detain the reader at his entrance, with a needleſs and ceremonious introduction; and yet it might be eſteemed a kind of rudeneſs to decline making any application of this ſort at all. It may be proper therefore, to obſerve, that the deſire of ſhewing a juſt gratitude for the approbation beſtowed upon this hiſtory, has excited the utmoſt care in reviſing, correcting, and where it ſeemed expedient, adding, and illuſtrating in ſome places, that the great end of this deſign might be better anſwered.

In the compaſs of this hiſtory, the principal naval tranſactions are repreſented from the earlieſt account of time down to the preſent reign; from whence it appears, that the claim of this nation to the dominion of the ſea, is not only as ancient, as any memorial of paſt time whatever; but that it has been alſo conſtant and invariable, through a long courſe of ages; maintained with great ſpirit by our anceſtors, and tranſmitted by them, as an invaluable bleſſing to their poſterity.

As to the facts that are related, they are chiefly collected from our beſt hiſtorians, and the authorities upon which they are grounded are carefully cited, ſo that nothing is advanced without evidence; and where writers have differed as to the circumſtances of great events, particular notice is taken of thoſe variations, that the reader may have it in his power to form a true judgment upon the whole, as alſo to ſee what has been controverted, and what not.

As foreign authors have alſo recorded many of theſe tranſactions, their works have likewiſe been conſulted; due regard paid to

them

them where they appear to have deserved it, and where either from partiality, or misinformation they have deviated from the truth, no pains have been spared in pointing out and proving their mistakes; but with as little acrimony as possible, though they have sometimes taken great liberties with the English writers they contradict. This will be found in many respects highly useful, not only, as it serves to fix the credit of particular facts; but as it also serves in some measure to shew the real characters of several authors, their views in writing, and the regard due to them upon other occasions.

At the close of every reign, there is a brief detail of the progress of navigation, commerce, discoveries, and whatever else seems to have a relation to maritime power, that the gradual increase of it may appear in a proper light, and reflect due honour on the princes, great ministers, and worthy patriots, who have patronized or supported these national points, and that the consequence of neglecting them might be also seen, which was the more necessary, because many errors have prevailed, and become popular upon this subject.

The personal history of famous seamen, is as fully and fairly represented, as was possible from the best materials that could be procured; neither will the reader find in their memoirs any spirit of party, which indeed would be inexcusable, since, whatever a man's party may be, if he has contributed to the service of his country, by defending her interest, humbling her enemies, or promoting her commerce, his memory ought to be preserved with the highest veneration.

These are the principal points treated of in the following sheets, and they cannot fail of giving pleasure to such as have a due regard, for the glory and prosperity of this island. To such alone this work is consecrated, and may the honourable actions of our illustrious seamen, in the present and succeeding ages, furnish materials to some abler pen! And thereby put it in his power to shew, that the lessons which have been taught us by our ancestors, and the great examples they have left us of public spirit, and zeal for their country's good, have not been lost on their descendants.

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS, &c.

Including a new and accurate

NAVAL HISTORY, &c.

CHAP. I.

The NAVAL HISTORY *of the* BRITONS, *before they were invaded by the* ROMANS *during their continuance in* BRITAIN; *and afterwards, to the coming of the* SAXONS. *Containing the tranſactions of about one thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty years.*

THAT the ancient hiſtory of *Britain*, or rather of the *Britons*, before the coming of *Cæſar* into this iſland, is not a little obſcure, as well in reſpect to their exploits by ſea, as in regard to the ſucceſſion of their princes, and the ſettlement of their civil government at

home, is a point ſo generally agreed on, that I will not trouble the reader with any diſputes about it. But this matter is carried much too far, when it is aſſerted, that the hiſtories of thoſe times deſerve not either reading, or notice; that they are mere fables, and idle tales, void of all authority or probability.

IT is true, that this lofty ſtile is highly taking with critics, who very readily reject what they cannot underſtand, but this may be ſometimes too haſtily done, as I conceive it is here. *Camden*[a] diſliked the *Britiſh* hiſtory of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, and his authority drew others to treat it with contempt. But, ſince his time, through the indefatigable labours of many induſtrious men, other ancient authors have been publiſhed, which plainly ſhew that much true hiſtory is to be met with, even in that book, though embarraſſed with fiction. Beſides, it is now out of diſpute, that *Geoffrey* was no forger, or inventor of that hiſtory; but that he really tranſlated it out of the *Britiſh* language, in which tongue it is ſtill extant[b].

FROM this hiſtory, which in many circumſtances is ſupported by others of better authority, we have various paſſages in relation to the naval power of the *Britons*, before *Cæſar*'s expedition. Now, that theſe are not altogether incredible, muſt appear from the reaſon of the thing, on one hand; and, on the other, from what may be cited from writers of unqueſtionable credit.

TWO arguments reſult from our very ſituation; for, firſt, the people, whoever they were, *Gauls* or *Trojans*, who

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[a] Britannia. p. 6, 7. Edit. 1594. 4°. See a Refutation of Camden's Objections in Mr. Thompſon's copious Preface to his Tranſlation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory; and the moſt learned Sir John Price's Deſenſ. Hiſt. Britan. [b] Uſſerii Britain. Eccl. Primordia. See alſo Lewis's Britiſh Hiſtory.

who planted this country, muſt have come to it by ſea, and conſequently muſt have had ſome ſkill in maritime affairs, even prior to their ſettling here. Secondly, the ſurrounding ſeas, the convenient ports, and the proſpect of the oppoſite ſhore, muſt, doubtleſs, have encouraged them when ſettled here, to practiſe, and thereby extend, that ſkill in navigation, which, as I have ſaid, they muſt have had before they came hither. Hence I think it might have been rationally concluded, that our *Britiſh* anceſtors had performed ſomething worthy of notice at ſea, before the *Roman* invaſion, even though there had been no records to atteſt their actions.

Polybius [c] mentions this iſland and its commodities. *Lucretius* [d] alſo takes notice of it, and theſe were both writers elder than *Cæſar*. [e] The author of the book *de mundo*, which goes commonly under the name of *Ariſtotle*, ſpeaks of the *Britiſh* iſlands, and diſtinguiſhes between *Albion* and *Hierna*, that is, between *England* and *Ireland*. *Athenæus* [f] tells us, out of *Moſchion*, that the main-maſt of king *Hiero*'s great ſhip was found by a ſwine-herd in the mountains of *Britain*, and by *Phileas Tauromenites* conveyed into *Sicily*; and *Solinus* [g] ſpeaks of an altar engraven with *Greek* characters, which *Ulyſſes* met with in *Caledonia*. It is not eaſy to conceive how ſo remote a country ſhould be ſo well known in thoſe times, if the *Britons* had not both power and commerce by ſea. But, to put this matter out of diſpute, the learned Mr. *Selden* [h] owns himſelf convinced, even by *Cæſar*'s writings, that

[c] Hiſt. lib. xi. [d] De Nat. Rer. lib. iii. [e] Ariſtot. opera. Tom. ii. p. 206. Edit. Aurel. Allobrog. 1606. [f] Deipnoſophiſt. [g] Polyhiſt. cap. 35. [h] Mare Clauſum Lib ii. cap. 2.

the ancient *Britons* had a conſiderable ſea force; which he conceives was either weakened, or totally deſtroyed in the defeat which *Cæſar* gave to the *Veneti*, to whoſe aſſiſtance it was ſent.

HAVING thus ſhewn that, for any thing the critics know to the contrary, the facts preſerved by our *Britiſh* hiſtorians may be true, I ſhall proceed to mention ſome of them that are for my purpoſe, inſiſting on ſuch arguments as offer themſelves in ſupport of theſe tranſactions; there being, as I conceive, as much honour to be acquired from the retrieving truth out of our fabulous ſtories, as in extracting it from *Greek* poets, or from oriental authors; which has, however, been the buſineſs of moſt of the great men famed for learning amongſt us. This I ſay, not to leſſen their reputation, or raiſe my own, but out of a deſign to heighten that of my country; by ſhewing that the inhabitants of this iſland have always been, what I hope they always will be, lords of thoſe ſeas which ſurround it.

THE firſt naval expedition, celebrated by *Britiſh* writers, is that of the planting this iſland by *Brito*, or *Brute*, * of which there is a large, and, in many of its circumſtances, no doubt, a fabulous account in *Monmouth* [1]; but that the ſtory had a ground of truth, may be eaſily proved. That this iſland was inhabited as early as this expedition is placed, appears from the trade of the *Phenicians*, and from its populouſneſs at the time of *Cæſar*'s invaſion. That the ſtory of *Brute* was no invention of *Geoffrey*'s, is clear, from our having the ſame account in *Henry* of [k] *Huntington*, who did

* A. A. C. 1195. [1] Hiſt. Brit. lib. i. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. 1. p. 10, 11, 12. Ric. Viti. Hiſt. Brit. lib. i. [k] Proem. Hiſt. et in Epiſt. ad Guarin.

did not borrow from him; and in *Giraldus Cambrenſis*[l], who though he condemns the *Britiſh* hiſtory publiſhed by *Monmouth*, yet in the ſame breath aſſerts the ſtory of *Brute*; and which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, from the authority of *Saxon* writers, whoſe teſtimony, in this caſe, is of unqueſtioned credit. As to the objection, that foreign writers knew nothing of this, it may in ſome meaſure be removed, by obſerving that, as they give very bad accounts of their own original, we need not either wonder at, or regret, their giving none of ours. Beſides this, *Ammianus*[m] takes notice, that part of the flying *Trojans* landed in *Gaul*, whence, our antient hiſtory ſays, they came hither. If ſo, then they poſſeſſed this iſland in right of their naval power; which dominion, as it began in them, ſo it ſhall be our principal buſineſs to ſhew it has by their poſterity never been ſince loſt.

ONE of the moſt early exploits after this, was that of king *Belinus*[n], who is ſaid to have taken the king of *Denmark* priſoner, and to have obliged him to become tributary. Afterwards, † paſſing with his brother *Brennus* into *Gaul*, they with the joint forces of that country, and their own, invaded *Italy*, and ſacked *Rome*; ‡ after which, *Belinus* returned home, and reigned here with great glory. That this ſtory is liable to ſome exceptions muſt be owned; and, indeed, what hiſtory of ſo great antiquity is not? but that it is not altogether improbable, appears from hence; that *Pauſanias*[o], a learned *Greek* author, ſpeaking of the expedition of the *Gauls* under *Brennus* into *Greece*, ſays, that they called their order of drawing up ſquadrons of horſe, three

[l] Cambriæ Deſcriptio, cap. 7. apud Camden. Angl. Norman. &c. [m] Hiſt. lib. xv. [n] Gal. Mon. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. Alured. Beverl. lib. i. p. 16. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iii. † A. A. C. 388. ‡ A. A. C. 387. [o] Lib. x.

in front, *Trimarchia*, which is pure *British*; for *Tri*, in that language, ſignifies three, and *March*, a horſe. *Gorguntius*[p], the ſon of *Belinus* attacked the king of *Denmark*, (which muſt have been by ſea) ſlew him, and conquered his country[*]. Theſe were the exploits of the inhabitants of the ſouthern part of the iſle. As for the *Scots*, they appear to have had a very conſiderable naval force, by which they held in ſubjection all the adjacent iſles, long before the coming of *Cæſar*; and this corroborates the other facts ſtrongly.

THE commerce of the *Britons* could not but be very conſiderable, even in theſe early times; for, beſides the trade they drove with the *Carthaginians*[q] in the weſtern part of the iſland, they alſo trafficked with the northern nations, as appears by the flight of *Brennus*[r], when he quarelled with his brother, to a king of *Norway*; for it cannot be ſuppoſed he would retire to an abſolute ſtranger; or, if he had, that he ſhould ſo ſoon return with a potent fleet. Their intercourſe with all the maritime provinces of *Gaul*, is indiſputable; nor is it a ſlight argument of their perfect acquaintance with the arts and ſciences then known, that the youth of thoſe provinces were ſent hither for inſtruction. But what is moſt to our purpoſe, and which clearly demonſtrates that, at this time, they had the dominion of their own ſeas in the moſt abſolute degree, is what *Cæſar*[s] himſelf ſays, *viz.* That he could get no information concerning the country, or ports, of *Britain*; becauſe the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to viſit their iſle, and even reſtrained thoſe from travelling up into the country. The impoſing ſuch rules, ſhews the power of which they were then poſſeſſed.

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[p] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. [*] A. A. C. 375. [q] Strabo. Geog. lib. i. [r] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. [s] De Bello Gallico, lib. iv.

IT is indeed objected, that *Cæsar*[t] and other ancient authors speak but in mean terms of the *British* vessels, telling us, they were made of wicker covered with hides, which, therefore, were very unfit to have opposed the *Roman* fleet; and this they suppose to be the reason, that the *Britons* never essayed to grapple with the *Romans* at sea. There is, however, nothing solid in this, for one of the reasons why *Cæsar* inclined to attack *Britain*, was, because it's inhabitants succoured the *Gauls* both by land and sea; the fleets, therefore, that they sent for this purpose, were certainly stout ships, and not the leathern boats which they used in fishing on their own coasts, and to the use of which the *Romans* afterwards confined them. The true cause why they did not oppose the *Romans* by sea, was the loss of the best part of their fleet before, which they had sent to the assistance of the *Veneti*[u]. As for the *Scots*[w], they were engaged in reducing the isles, which a little before had thrown off their yoke, as their own historian tells us: and, after all, *Gildas*[x] severely reflects upon this very circumstance of their not drawing together a fleet; which would have been absolutely absurd, if he had known the *Britons* at that time had no ships of war. To sum up all, *Cæsar*'s[y] own relation is sufficient to shew that there is nothing pressing in this objection; but that the *Britons* made such a defence as their circumstances would allow, and the nature of his attempt required.

THIS expedition of *Cæsar*'s may seem to fall without the limits of this work, since they contended with him not

[t] De Bello Civil. lib. i. cap. 54. Solin. Polyhist. cap. 35. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv. [u] Selden. Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 2. [w] Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 14. [x] Epist. de Excidio Britan. [y] De Bello Gallico, lib. iv.

at ſea, but on ſhore. It was, however, a naval expedition on his ſide, and undertaken chiefly for the ſake of ſecuring the dominion of the ſea to the *Romans*: wherefore I conceive it will not be thought an unjuſtifiable digreſſion in me, to touch on ſome remarkable circumſtances. *Cæſar*'s firſt expedition † was with a fleet of eighty ſhips, and a few gallies, on board of which he embark'd two legions [z]. He attempted to land on the oppoſite coaſt of *Kent*, where he found a *Britiſh* army ready to receive him, who performed their parts ſo well, that even theſe *Roman* veterans were aſtoniſhed, and contrary to their uſual cuſtom, betrayed a diſlike to fighting: whence we may juſtly infer that this was not the firſt time the *Britons* had to do with invaders. The emperor [a] *Julian*, a writer of diſtinguiſhed parts, introduces *Julius* as leaping from his ſhip to encourage his frighted ſoldiers; but *Cæſar* himſelf tells us, that it was the Standard-bearer of the tenth legion, who, by this deſperate action, encouraged the army to gain the ſhore, from which, with much difficulty, they drove the *Britiſh* inhabitants [b]. After this, *Cæſar* encamped on *Barham Downs*, where he waited a ſupply; in which, meeting with ſome diſappointment, the *Britons* again gave him battle, and, as he owns, were repulſed with difficulty enough; inſomuch, that when he had repaired his fleet, he judged it the wiſeſt thing he could do to return to *Gaul*, and this accordingly he did, embarking his forces at midnight. [c]. Happy had it been for the *Britons*, if, after ſo glorious a conteſt for the preſervation of their freedom, they had concerted

† A. A. C. 52. [z] Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 1. Vit. Hiſt. Lib. iv. Cæſ. de Bello Gallico. lib. v. [a] Cæſar, ib. [b] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 25. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 3. [c] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 5.

certed proper measures for giving him as good a reception, in case of his making a second attempt; but they were deficient in discretion, though not in valour, and quarreling amongst themselves, *Mandubratius*, a traitor to his country, fled to *Gaul*, in order to invite his return.[d]

CÆSAR was at that time returned to *Rome*; but his lieutenants in *Gaul* were providing a navy according to his directions, which consisted of no less than eight hundred sail, on board of which, when he came back, *Cæsar* embark'd a numerous army for *Britain*. He landed again in *Kent* ‡, without meeting any resistance; the *Britons* being astonished at the sight of ten times the force with which they had before contended. The *Romans* marched as far as the river *Stoure*, where, in a short space, the *British* monarch *Cassivallan* engaged them with a formidable army. In this battle, the *Romans* forced their enemies to retreat; but in the evening, the *Britons* boldly attacked the *Roman* camp, and, when they found themselves unable to keep it, charged quite through the forces appointed to defend it, and recovered their Fastnesses. *Cæsar* marching forwards towards the *Thames*, *Cassivallan* caused the ford where he was to pass, to be stuck full of sharp stakes, remaining with his army on the opposite shore, in order to have taken advantage of that confusion this contrivance must have occasioned; but the design was betrayed, and *Cæsar* past somewhat higher. The place, however, retains the name of *Coway Stakes*, near *Oatlands*, and is another proof that the *Britons* knew how to fight by land and by water. After this, *Cassivallan* managed the war without fighting set battles, 'till *Cæsar* stormed his capital, which

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[d] De Bell. Gall. Hist. lib. v. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.

‡ A. A. C. 51.

which is thought to have been *Verulam*, near St. *Alban's*, and that ſome of the *Britiſh* princes ſubmitted to *Cæſar*, when he alſo thought proper to make terms; [e] which *Cæſar* readily granted him, that he might be rid of this buſineſs with honour, which, if we believe his own commentaries, he effected; but we know that *Aſinius Pollio* [f] ſaid of thoſe memoirs, that they were written with little accuracy, and ſmall regard to truth; and *Suetonius*, as to this particular action, tells us, that he was fairly beaten by the *Britons* [g]; which may derive ſome credit to what our own hiſtories ſay of this matter.

ON his return to *Rome*, *Cæſar* conſecrated to *Venus* a military ornament, embroidered with *Britiſh* pearl [h], a circumſtance ſlight in appearance, but of conſequence to my purpoſe, ſince by this conſecration it is intimated, that *Cæſar* arrogated to himſelf the dominion of the ſea; whence *Vincula dare Oceano*, to give laws to the ocean, and *Britannos ſubjugare*, to ſubdue the *Britons*, became convertible terms with ſubſequent authors, who all endeavour to place *Cæſar's Britiſh* expedition in this, as in far the moſt glorious light [i].

AUGUSTUS, when he had ſettled the empire, thought of paying this iſland a viſit [k], but arriving in *Gaul*, he there heard of the revolt of the *Pannonians*, which obliged him to change his deſign [l]. Seven years after, however, he reſumed it, and came again into *Gaul*, where embaſſadors from *Britain* met him; and, on their promiſing to pay

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[e] Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 8, 11. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Cæſ. de Bell. Gal. lib. v. [f] Apud. Sueton. in vit. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 56. [g] In vit. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 25. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 11. Hor. Epod. vii. [h] Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. liv. [i] Selden Mare Clauſum, p. 1288. int. Oper. Tom. iv. [k] A. A. D. 1. [l] Hor. Carm. lib. I. Od. 35.

pay him tribute, he desisted a second time †. Finding, next year, that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invasion of *Britain*; but the inhabitants prevented him, by sending embassadors, who offered in the capitol, sacrificed to the *Roman* gods, swore obedience in the temple of *Mars*, promised to pay tribute duly; and, which is more to our purpose, undertook to yield certain duties for the goods by them exported: which is a plain indication, that the *Romans* chiefly sought an acknowledgment of naval dominion, or superiority at sea [l]. During the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Britons* kept fair with the *Romans*, by their prudence in this particular; for when some of the soldiers of *Germanicus* had been wrecked on their coast, they not only received them kindly, but sent them back to him safely. Thus these wise emperors maintained the reputation of the *Roman* power, without running any further hazards against a people martial in their dispositions, unenervated by luxury, tenacious of liberty, and yet useful as allies [m].

THE felicity of this country was then, as indeed it generally is, owing to the wisdom, courage, and public spirit of its prince. The name of this excellent monarch was *Cunobeline*, who reigned many years, and with great reputation; but in the latter part of his life, there fell out a misfortune in his family, which proved fatal to his subjects. One of his sons, whom the *Latin* writers call *Adminius*, behaved so ill, that his father was obliged to banish him; and he, like an abandoned traitor, repaired to *Caligula*, who had succeeded *Tiberius* in the empire, and excited

† A. C. 8. [l] Langhorne's Introduction to the History of England, p. 83. Hor. lib. iii. Od. 5. [m] Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

cited him to invade his country in his worthleſs quarrel [n]. Nothing could be more welcome to that vain, and yet puſillanimous, prince, than this application; he, therefore, made ſuch preparations, as if he really intended to ſubdue the whole iſland [o]. But weighing with himſelf the danger of ſuch an enterprize, he reſolved to content himſelf with an imaginary conqueſt. He ſent the letters of *Adminius* to the *Roman* ſenate, as teſtimonies of the ſubmiſſion of the *Britons*; he built a mighty watch-tower upon the coaſt fronting *Norfolk*, as a monument of his pretended ſubjugation of the *Britons*, which, in after times, ſerved for a kind of *Pharos*, and was called in the language of the natives *Britenhuis*, i. e. *Domus Britannica*, the *Britiſh* houſe; and, to compleat all, he drew down his army to the ſea-ſhore, and having diſpoſed them in battallia, he then commanded them to fill their helmets with cockle, and other ſhells, calling them the ſpoils of the ocean, due to the capitol, and to the palace [p]; which act of his, though it ſufficiently ſpoke his vanity, yet it farther demonſtrates, that the dominion of *Britain* and the empire of the ocean were held to be the ſame thing: and the greater *Caligula's* folly was, in thus arrogating to himſelf a victory he had never gained, the more glorious we muſt eſteem that conqueſt would have been, the very notion of which made him ſo vain. *Cunobeline* did not long outlive this emperor; yet he was ſo happy as to die before the *Romans* ſet foot again in *Britain*.

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[n] Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. Cap. 2. [o] A. D. 41. [p] Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Sueton. in Calig. cap. 44. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. v.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon, whom the *Britiſh* writers ſtile *Guydyr* [p], a brave and generous prince, of whom the *Latin* hiſtorians ſay nothing; becauſe the *Romans* gained no great honour by their wars againſt him. He, in the very beginning of his reign, refuſed to pay them tribute, becauſe ſome *Britiſh* fugitives, who fled to the *Romans*, had not been delivered up; which ſhews that the *Britons* were incapable of bearing injuries, even from the lords of the world. Among theſe fugitives, there was one *Bericus*, a man of parts, but a traitor; he encouraged the emperor *Claudius* to think of invading and conquering *Britain* [q]. Accordingly he ſent over his lieutenants, who began and proſecuted the war with ſucceſs, and afterwards croſſing the ſea, himſelf ſubdued a great part of *South Britain* [r], through the valour of his legions, and the inteſtine diviſions of the *Britons*, who, had they been united, would undoubtedly have compelled him to quit the iſland [s]. For this conqueſt the emperor triumphed, and his lieutenant *A. Plautius* was allowed an ovation. On account of this victory he was complimented by the poets of his time, as the conquerer of the ocean, and the ſovereign of the ſea. *Suetonius* [t] tells us, that among the ſpoils of his enemies, he placed a *naval* crown by the *Civic*, in teſtimony of his having vanquiſhed the ocean; and *Seneca* the tragedian celebrates this victory in the following lines: [u] which at once expreſs, how high an idea was then entertained, of ſo extraordinary a diſcovery, and how much glory was ſuppoſed to ariſe, from this maritime victory.

En,

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[p] Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. Cap. 12. [q] Matt. Weſtm. ad A. D. 44. [r] A. D. 45. [s] Dio. Hiſt. lib. lx. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. [t] In vit. Claud. cap. 17. [u] In Octavia.

Eu, qui Britannis primus imposuit Jugum,
Ignota tantis Classibus texit freta.

By him first vanquish'd, were the Britons *shown,*
And Roman *navies sail'd thro' seas unknown.*

YET we must not suppose, notwithstanding these pompous marks of conquest, that the *Britons* were absolutely subdued; the contrary of this appears plainly from the *British* histories; and, not obscurely, even from the *Roman* writers. *Arviragus*, who is supposed to have been the youngest son of *Cunobeline*, inherited the virtue as well as the dominions of his father, and after long harassing the *Romans* as an enemy, consented at last, upon honourable terms, to become their friend. That this martial monarch had rendered himself exceedingly formidable to *Rome*, might, if all other proofs of it were lost, be deduced from the following passage in *Juvenal*, where, bitterly inveighing against the gluttony of *Domitian*, he introduces one predicting, from the taking of an overgrown turbot [u],

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arvigarus.———

Some mighty king thou shalt a captive make,
On Britain's *throne* Arviragus *shall shake.*

The irony of this passage could not have been sharp or cutting, if this *British* king had not been a very potent prince, and one whose reputation was at once thoroughly established, and universally known.

THUS

[u] Sat. iv. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 14. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. See also Lewis's British History, and Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 96.

THUS are we imperceptibly fallen as low as the reign of *Domitian*; yet ſome paſſages there are remarkable enough to oblige us to return to the mention of thoſe reigns, which intervene between his and that of *Claudius*. The glorious enterprize of *Boadicea*, who, in the time of *Nero*, attempted and almoſt atchieved the driving the *Romans* entirely out of *Britain*, having no relation to maritime affairs, falls not within my province. Under the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who had himſelf commanded with great reputation in this iſland [w], *Julius Agricola*, was ſent general into this iſland [*]. He was a wiſe governor, as well as an excellent officer, ſignalized himſelf in the beginning of his adminiſtration, by the reduction of *Mona*, or *Angleſey*; [x] by the aſſiſtance, however, of *Britiſh* troops, who paſſed the narrow arm of the ſea, which divides that iſland from *Britain* on horſeback; and thereby ſurprized the inhabitants, ſo that they were vanquiſhed, rather by fear, than force. Under the reign of *Titus*, *Agricola* projected a noble ſcheme; that of fixing the bounds of the *Roman* empire in *Britain*, and ſecuring its ſubjects from the inroads of the barbarous nations inhabiting the northern part of the iſland. [y] I ſpeak this in conformity to the language of the authors, from whoſe authority I write; and not with any intention of blemiſhing the reputation of thoſe gallant people, who ſo worthily defended their liberty againſt the *Romans*. In the proſecution of this deſign, *Agricola* advanced farther north, than any of his predeceſſors had done [†]; and obſerving, that two arms of the ſea, almoſt cut in ſunder one part of the iſland from the other, he reſolved to fortify this *Peninſula*, and thereby ſhut out the *Scots* and *Picts*, which he accordingly

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[w] Tacit. in Agric. [*] A. C. 72. [x] Idem, ibid. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. [y] Tacit. in Agric. [†] A. C. 85.

ingly performed [z]. In the *Latin* tongue, theſe arms of the ſea are called *Glota* and *Bodotria*; which moſt of our writers render the friths of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*; but they are with greater propriety ſtiled the friths of *Clyde* and of *Forth*.

HAVING thus ſecured the *Roman* province from all danger, he began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading *Ireland*, as well as for examining and ſubduing the remaining part of *Britain*. With this view he fitted out a conſiderable fleet, and ordered it to ſail northwards, looking into all the creeks and bays, in order to gain an exact knowledge of the coaſt, while himſelf and the army marched forward by land. This exceedingly alarmed the northern nations, who, as the *Roman* writers obſerve, gave all for loſt, now the ſecret of their ſeas was diſcovered. The *Caledonians* defended themſelves with great obſtinacy againſt *Agricola*, but with indifferent ſucceſs; and, in the mean time, were terribly haraſſed by the fleet, which put now into one port, then into another, and at length ſurrounded the iſland, and, if we may believe the [a] *Roman* authors, ſubdued the *Orcades*, or iſlands of *Orkney*. * However, it is certain, that after having compleated their deſign, this navy returned to the *Portus Trutulenſis*, or as it ought rather to be read, *Rutupenſis*, which is conceived to be *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*. This expedition gained great honour to *Julius Agricola*, and was looked upon, in thoſe days, as a moſt heroic act; the boundaries of *Britain* being eſteemed, by the *Romans*, the utmoſt limits of the world, as appears plainly from the accounts we have in *Tacitus*: and if any doubts remain as to his impartiality, ſince *Agricola* was his near relation, we may

[z] Idem, ibid. [a] Idem, ibid. * A. D. 72.

may put the fact out of diſpute, by citing what *Juvenal* ſays on the ſame topic [b].

——— Arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Brittannos.

We, fame, beyond Juverna † *have purſu'd,*
And ev'n the diſtant Orkneys *have ſubdu'd;*
Our forces now remoteſt Britons *fright,*
In northern climates hardly reach by night.

HISTORY informs us, that this expedition of *Agricola* was in the ſummer, which accounts for the laſt line, ſince in that ſeaſon the *Romans* certainly found the days very long in the northern part of the iſle; whence they concluded, that the inhabitants were content with a ſlender portion of reſt: which ſeems to be the true meaning of their being ſatisfied with a ſhort night. The tyrant *Domitian* taking umbrage at the great exploits of this excellent perſon, recalled him to *Rome*, and there took him off by poiſon [c].

UNDER the reigns of the ſucceeding emperors, *Nerva* and *Trajan*, there happened little of conſequence in this iſland; but the emperor *Adrian*, who ſucceeded *Trajan*, underſtanding that the northern nations made frequent incurſions into the *Roman* province, came over hither; and, after gaining frequent advantages over them, he reſolved to take the ſame method which *Agricola* had formerly done of bounding the province by a wall, or military entrenchment; which he accordingly caſt up, and, as the manner of thoſe

[b] Sat. ii. † Ireland. [c] Tacit in vit Agric.

times was, ſtrongly fortified. † This wall is ſaid to have extended about eighty *Italian* miles, from *Eden* in *Cumberland* to *Tyne* in *Northumberland*; though others ſay, it was from *Gabroſentum*, now *Gateſhead*, or *Gateſhend*, in the biſhoprick of *Duram* to *Carliſle*, thereby abandoning a tract of country, ſeventy miles long and a hundred and forty broad, to the *Scots* and *Picts*; yet on his return to *Rome*, he cauſed a new coin to be ſtruck, whereon he is ſtiled the reſtorer of *Britain*[d]. In the reign of *Antonius Pius* one *Lollius Urbicus*, acted as his lieutenant in *Britain*, who was very ſucceſsful in his wars againſt the northern nations, [e] and who having driven them beyond the friths of *Clyde* and *Forth*, re-edified *Agricola*'s wall, and reſtored the *Roman* province to its full extent. ‡ About this time, *Sejus Saturninus* was *Archigubernus* of the *Roman* fleet here,[f] but whether we are to underſtand thereby, that he was admiral, or arch-pilot, is doubtful. In ſucceeding times, the *Scots* and *Picts* recovered the country they had loſt, and gained ſo many advantages over the *Romans*, that the emperor *Severus* came over in perſon, and with infinite difficulty, repulſed theſe invaders, [g] loſing no leſs than fifty thouſand men in the war; and at laſt was content to re-edify *Adrian*'s wall, which he fortified with ſtrong towers or bulwarks, aſſuming thereupon, the ſurname of *Britannicus Maximus*[h]. He died at *York*, and, his body being burnt at *Ackham*, there is ſtill to be ſeen a great mount of earth

† A. D. 123 [d] Dio hiſt. lib. lxix. Spartian. in vit. Adrian. cap. ii. Bed. lib. 1. cap. 5. [e] Jul. Capitolin in vit. Anton. ‡ A. D. 142. [f] Pandect. lib. xlvi. tit ad Senatus. conſult. Trebellian. [g] A. D. 210. [h] Herod. lib. iii. Spartian. in Severo. Dio, Hiſtor. lib. lxxvi.

earth raiſed upon that occaſion, and called by the inhabitants *Sever*'s Hill [h].

In the ſucceeding diſtractions of the *Roman* empire, *Britain*, like the reſt of its provinces, fell into the hands of various maſters, ſtiled by their own party, emperors, and by the reſt of the world, tyrants. Amongſt theſe, there is one who deſerves to be remembred in this hiſtory; ſince how bad ſoever his title might be, he made a good prince to the *Britons*, and, which is ſtill more to our purpoſe, carried the maritime power of this country ſo high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but alſo to ſtrike a terror into the whole *Roman* empire. It is true, many hiſtorians treat him as a notorious uſurper, which ſeems to be a little hard; ſince thoſe they ſtile emperors had no other title than what they derived from fighting on land, which ſeems to afford him ſome colour of right, in virtue of his power by ſea. But, be that as it will, his ſtory is ſufficient to ſhew, that the *Britons* in the *Roman* provinces were, at this time, remarkable for their ſkill in naval affairs, and were able to ſet out ſuch fleets as made them terrible to their neighbours.

DIOCLESIAN and *Maximian* having ſhared the empire between them, the latter, who poſſeſſed the weſtern parts, finding the coaſts much harraſſed by pyrates of ſeveral nations, but chiefly *Saxons* and *Franks*, made choice of one * *Caius Carauſius*, a man of known valour, to command the *Roman* fleet, for ſcouring the ſeas. [i] Moſt writers ſay, that this man was a *Menapian* by birth, and of very mean deſcent: certain *Scotiſh* authors claim him

[h] Vit. Hiſt. lib. 5. Oroſ. Lib. vii. cap. 17. Eutropius, lib. viii. Bed. lib. 1. cap. 5. Langhorn's Introduction to the hiſtory of England, p. 123. * A. D. 288. [i] Nennius apud Camden. in Rom. Britan. Aurel. Victor. cap. 39.

for their countryman, [b] and with great appearance of truth. This charge he executed with equal courage and conduct; but, as the *Roman* hiſtorians ſay, not ſo honourably as he ought: yet, if we conſider his future actions, and that theſe writers were the creatures of the emperors againſt whom he fought, we may ſafely doubt whether the character they give *Carauſius*, ought to prejudice him in our opinions. They tell us, that, inſtead of chaſtiſing the pyrates as his duty directed, he too frequently admitted them to compoſition, and finding this policy diſcovered, he had recourſe to another, neglecting to take them, till they had enriched themſelves by a multitude of prizes, and then ſeizing them with their ill-got wealth to his own uſe. *Maximian* being informed of theſe practices, conceived a ſuſpicion of his intending to ſet up for himſelf; which ſcheme, if this officer really had it in his head, he furthered, by endeavouring to privent it. The method he took, was, by commiſſioning a perſon to aſſaſſinate *Carauſius:* which failing, this cunning commander improved, to his advantage; for croſſing with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips over into *Britain*, he there perſuaded a great part of the *Roman* army, and the *Britons* in general, to embrace his party, and ſo aſſuming the purple robe, he declared himſelf emperor, and maintained that dignity againſt all the power that his rivals could oppoſe him with. Beſides this iſland, he held the port of *Geſſoriacum*, now *Bulloigne* in *France*, and the adjacent coaſt, whence he ſo haraſſed *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, by his fleets, that, however averſe *Maximian* might be to ſuch a partner, he was at length compelled to purchaſe peace, by owning this man for

[b] Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 38.

for emperor of *Britain*: and there are ſtill extant ſome of his coins, having on one ſide his head, with this inſcription, IMP. CARAUSIUS. P. F. AUG. On the reverſe, the portraitures of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this agreement with *Maximian*. This coin is of ſilver, and found no where but in *Britain*[l].

HOWEVER he acquired the emperor, it is on all hands agreed, that he held it very worthily; for he governed the *Britons* with great juſtice and equity, maintained the dominion of the ſea againſt all competitors, with much reſolution: and, when the northern nations, that is to ſay, the *Scots* and *Picts*, began to vex his ſubjects with incurſions, he made war upon them; and, having beat them in many engagements, he recovered all that the *Romans* had ever held in *Britain*, and, as ſome ſay, erected, as a mark of his conqueſt, that celebrated monument of antiquity, called *Arthur's Oven*; though other affirm this to be a temple of the god *Terminus*, and erected by another hand. When he had thus ſignalized his courage and conduct at their expence, he made peace with theſe nations, wiſely foreſeeing that he ſhould, ſometime or other, ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance againſt the *Roman* emperors, who he knew waited only for a favourable opportunity of exerting their hatred againſt him[m]. He took care likewiſe by all means poſſible to increaſe his fleet; and which ſhews him to be a very politic prince, he negotiated a treaty with the *Franks*, and other nations, who were ſeated on the *Thracian Boſphorus*, and who were become famous for their

[l] Eutropius, lib. ix. Bed. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 6. Aurel. Victor. in Cæſario. Speed's Chronicle. p. 254. [m] Hiſt. Brit. lib. v. cap. 3. Vit. Hiſt. lib. v. Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 37, 38, 39. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6.

power at ſea; whereby it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould ſend a ſtrong fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which paſſing through the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, ſhould join his navy in the *Britiſh* ſeas, and act in conjunction againſt the *Romans*. This, certainly, is a tranſaction worthy of being recorded in our naval hiſtory; unleſs we have ſo far loſt the ſpirit of our anceſtors, as to be proud rather of being ſlaves to *Rome*, than of conteſting the ſovereignty of the ſea, with that haughty people.

THE *Romans*, juſtly alarmed at ſo formidable a confederacy, which in an inſtant deprived them of any ſafe paſſage by ſea, began to provide for putting a ſpeedy end to this war. In order to this, *Conſtantius* and *Maximian* both applied themſelves to raiſing forces by ſea and land. The former undertook to march with an army into the territory poſſeſſed by the enemy in *Gaul*; while the latter, from the naval magazines on the *Rhine*, fitted out a fleet of a thouſand ſail. While this was doing, *Conſtantius* beſieged *Carauſius* in *Bulloigne*, who, having the ſea open, defended himſelf without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that while he held this advantage, of a thouſand ſail. While this was doing, *Conſtantius* having found a way to block up the port by a work of a new contrivance; *Carauſius* had no means of ſafety left, but by breaking through the *Roman* camp, which with a few gallant followers, he performed in a dark night; and, embarking in a ſmall ſhip, croſſed over to *Britain*, where he had a ſtrong fleet, and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this wrong ſtep, when he was informed, that the very night after his departure, the ſea had carried away all the works of the *Romans*, and left the port open. The next thing *Conſtantius* did, was to draw together all

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the ſhips that could be had from every part of his dominions; and having ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſts of *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, to prevent *Caraufius* from joining his confederates, he ſailed in perſon with the reſt of his fleet through the ſtreights of *Gibralter*, to meet the *Franks*, whom he defeated ſo abſolutely, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that there was not a man of them left[n]. In the mean time *Caraufius* employed his time in preparing the beſt he could for the defence of *Britain*; but one *Allectus*, a conſiderable officer in his ſervice, and whom he had always treated as his boſom-friend; ſuppoſing that his death would put him in poſſeſſion of all his power, treacherouſly murdered him, when he had reigned ſeven years, and then aſſumed the purple *.

THIS *Allectus* was far from having either the capacity, or the fortune, of his predeceſſors; though all our hiſtorians agree, that he kept his dominions and his forces. He was for ſome time ſuperior in power at ſea; but he employed that ſuperiority, rather as a pyrate, than as a prince, ſending out his ſquadrons to ſpoil the adjacent coaſts of *Gaul*, and to interrupt the trade of all the *Roman* provinces. *Conſtantius* ſaw this with impatience; but, at the ſame time, took all the neceſſary precautions for putting an end to it. At length, he found himſelf ſtrong enough to fight *Allectus* by ſea; and with this view, ſailed from the coaſt of *Gaul* towards that of *Britain*. *Allectus*, with an navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the *Iſle of Wight*, whence on the firſt intelligence of the departure of the *Roman* fleet, he ſtood to ſea, in order to intercept it; but it ſo happened, that *Conſtantius*, by means of a fog, paſſed him, and land-

[n] Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 25. Paulus Diac. lib. x. cap. 41. Aurel. Vict. cap. 39. Fordun Scotichronicon. lib. xi. capi 40. * A. D. 294.

ed ſafely in *Britain*; which he had no ſooner done, than from a foreſight that the *Britiſh* fleet would infallibly beat his in a fair ſea-fight; he cauſed his ſhips to be ſet on fire, that his ſoldiers might have no hopes of eſcaping, but by beating their enemies. *Allectus* quickly returned to *Britain* and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of troops; but perceiving that the hearts of the people were entirely alienated from him, and that he was thereby become inferior on land, to thoſe over whom he had a ſuperiority at ſea, he grew in a manner diſtracted; and, engaging raſhly with *Aſclepiodotus*, who commanded a party of *Roman* troops, his forces were routed, and himſelf having thrown away his purple robe, after a deſperate defence was ſlain *. He held the empire, or rather bore the title of emperor, about three years; and there is yet extant a gold coin of his with this inſcription, IMP. C. ALECTUS. P. F. AUG. On the reverſe, SALUS AUG *. He ſeems to have loſt himſelf by his raſhneſs; for he certainly fought before the main body of the troops came up. Theſe conſiſted of foreigners of all nations, drawn to his ſervice from the hopes of pay; and who, as ſoon as they knew of his misfortune, reſolved to ſatisfy their expectations, by plundering thoſe they came to preſerve. With this view they poſſeſſed themſelves of *London*; but, as they entered the city, a new miſchance befel them. Part of the *Roman* army, ſevered from the grand fleet at ſea, by the miſt before mentioned, landed at the mouth of the *Thames*, and entered the city immediately after them. Upon this an engagement enſued, wherein the foreigners were defeated, and cut

* A. D. 296. * Aurel. Victor. in Cæſarib. Eutropius ubi ſupra. Eumen. Paneg. Conſtant. Cæſar. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's hiſtory of Britain, p. 120.

cut to pieces; their commander, whoſe name was *Gallus*, endeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight, was puſhed into and drowned in a little brook, called from thence in the *Britiſh* tongue, *Nant-Gall*, and by the *Saxons*, *Walbrook*[p].

In ſucceeding times, when the government of the *Roman* empire came to be better ſettled, proper officers were appointed for maintaining both civil and military government in *Britain*; but above all, due care was taken of naval affairs, and garriſons were placed in various ports, and particularly theſe which follow, *viz. Othona*, which *Camden* took to be *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*: *Dubris*, which certainly was *Dover*: *Lemmanis*, which was either *Hythe* in *Kent*, or ſome place near it; perhaps *Lime-Hill*: *Branodunum*, *Brancheſter* in *Norfolk*, not far from the waſhes: *Gariannonum*, *Yarmouth*: *Regulbium*, *Reculuer* in *Kent*: *Rittupis*, or *Rittupæ*, *Richborough* near *Sandwich*: *Anderia*, *Newenden* in *Kent*, and the port of the *Adurni*, now *Alkrington* to *Ederington*, near *Shoreham* in *Suſſex*[q].

CONSTANTINE the great, as he was born in this iſland, ſo he was extremely careful of its concerns[r]. On his death, and the diviſion of the empire among his ſons, it fell to the ſhare of *Conſtantine* the eldeſt. After his murder, his younger brothers, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* were both here, and *Gratianus* was by them made general of *Britain*[s]. The emperor *Julian* ſent over *Lupicinus* to repreſs the *Scots*, in which he was very ſucceſsful[t].

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[p] Hiſt. Britan. lib. 5, cap. 4. Vit. Hiſt. lib. v. Camden. Deſcript. Britan. in Trinobant. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's Hiſtory of Britain, p. 120.

[q] Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 6, 7.

[r] Sozomen. Europ. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vi. [s] Paulus Diaconus, lib. xi. cap. 18. Victor. in Valentin. Ammian Marcellin, lib. xiv.

[t] Bed. lib. i. cap. 1. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx.

Under the emperors *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, *Theodoſius* performed great things in this iſland, and having recovered the country between the two walls, he erected it into a province by itſelf, and called it *Valentia* [u]. After this, *Maximus* was general of the *Roman* forces in this iſland; who, having vanquiſhed the *Scots* and *Picts*, was declared emperor by his army [*]. He carrying on great wars on the continent, tranſported thither the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, which was one principal cauſe of the misfortune that befel his country; for after a reign of ſix years, he was vanquiſhed, and put to death in *Italy*; and ſo *Britain* returned to the obedience of the *Roman* emperors [w]. The emperor *Theodoſius* ſent over *Chryſanthus*, who governed here very worthily all the time of his reign [x]. In the nonage of the emperor *Honorius*, new diſturbances were created by the *Scots* and *Picts*, which induced *Stilico*, who was the emperor's guardian, to ſend *Victorinus* to command here, who having expelled the invaders, refortified the wall, and placed a legion in garriſon to defend it; the ſame worthy perſon took care alſo to reſtore the maritime force of the iſland, whereby he ſecured it from the inſults of thoſe pyratical nations, who now began to infeſt the ſea. *Claudian* in his panegyrick on *Stilico*, attributes all this to him; becauſe done by his order, and by an officer acting under his authority. For thus he introduces the iſle of *Britain* ſpeaking to his patron [*].

Me

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[u] Idem, lib. xxvii. Claudian. de Bello Getico, & in laud. Theodoſ. [*] A. D. 381. [w] Zozim. Hiſt. lib iv. Fordun Scotichronicon. lib. ii. cap. 42. [x] Pomponius Læt. in Theodoſio. [*] A. D. 396.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernen
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis[y].

Me too, by neighbours when almost devour'd,
Thou, Stilico, *sustain'd*——*tho'* Ireland *pour'd*
Her Scots *abroad, and cover'd all the sea*
With hostile fleets.——*But now restor'd by thee*
Those Scots, *tho' join'd with* Picts, *I fear no more*
Nor dread each changing wind should bring the Saxons *o'er.*

But when *Alarick* the *Goth* made his first irruption into *Italy*, *Victorinus* with his legion was recalled out of *Britain*[z]; and the affairs of the empire falling continually from bad to worse, the *Roman* forces he left behind, thought themselves at liberty to elect, in conjunction with the *Britons*, a prince of their own, or (as the phrase was in those times) an emperor. Accordingly they chose, and murdered, two in less than six months[a]: then they set up one *Constantine*, meerly for his name's sake, * who in a short time aspired to greater things than the bare domion of *Britain*. On this account, he, like his predecessor *Maximus*, assembled the utmost force of the island, and therewith passed over into *Gaul*; where, by the help of these forces and his fleet, he performed many great things,

till

[y] Paneg. Secund. de Laud. Stilic. [z] Camden. Roman. Britan. Gulielm. Malmesbur. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1.
[a] Zos. Hist. lib. vi. Bed. lib. i. cap. 9. * A. D. 047.

till the emperor *Honorius* made war againſt, and ſubdued him [b]. The *Britons*, in the mean time, were brought to the laſt extremity by the *Scots* and *Picts*, inſomuch that the remainder of the *Romans*, giving the country for loſt, at leaſt for the preſent; buried their treaſures, and tranſported themſelves to other parts [c]. However, even after this, on their humble application to *Honorius*, *Ætius*, general of the forces in *Gaul*, had orders to ſend over a legion; which he did, and repeated the ſame favour ſome years afterwards [d]. This laſt legion was commanded by one *Gallio*, who having repaired, or rather rebuilt the wall, originally raiſed by *Severus*, and fortified the coaſt againſt the ſudden invaſions of the pyrates, who then infeſted the *Britiſh* ſeas, plainly told the people, that the affairs of the empire would not permit them to paſs over any more; but that for the future they muſt think of defending themſelves as well as they could: and after many exhortations to behave with conſtancy and courage in the cauſe of their country, he embarked all the *Roman* troops * and left the *Britons* to their fortunes [e].

THUS about four hundred and eighty years, according to the computation of the learned *Selden*, or four hundred and ſeventy, as the *Saxon* chronicle informs us, after the firſt invaſion of this iſland by *Julius Cæſar*, the *Romans* quitted it, and all the rights they could pretend to [f]. For, this being a voluntary abdication, nothing can be plainer, than that they left the *Britons* as free as they found them.

And,

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[b] Beda, lib. i. cap. 1. Sozom. lib. ix. cap. 13. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 42. [c] Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. 418. [d] Pauli Diaconi, Hiſt. Miſcel. lib. xiv. * A. D. 430. [e] Bed. lib. i. cap. 12. Gildas de Excid. Britan. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. iii. cap. 12. Zozim. Hiſt. lib. vi. Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. 435. [f] Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 9.

And, as it is evident that this nation exercised the dominion over the circumjacent seas, before the coming of the *Romans*, who likewise contended, that the possession of this island gave them a title to the like sovereignty; nothing can be more apparent than that it now reverted to the *Britons*. I say, nothing can be more evident, if we admit that the *Romans* acquired any right by conquest; which may seem doubtful, since they never subdued the whole island: and if so, the *British* title to this dominion, remained unimpeached. We are next to enquire, what the effects were of this desertion of the isle by the *Romans*, and in what situation the naval affairs of the *Britons* remained, when they were just left to themselves. A difficult task indeed, considering the dubious authority of the authors of whom we are to make use of; but a task necessary to be performed: since the dominion of the sea must have rested somewhere, we shall do our best to shew it rested with them.

The *Scots* and *Picts* no sooner understood that the *Britons* were abandoned by the *Romans*, than they began to form designs not only of pillaging, as they were wont to do, the southern part of the island, but for making an absolute conquest thereof, or at least of a good part of it, which accordingly they attempted with a numerous army, and with a great fleet. † The first thing they did, was to demolish the wall, that it might be no obstacle to future incursions; then landing their forces behind the *Britons*, they so astonished them with numbers, that, they relinquished all thoughts of defence. These inroads having destroyed the chief cities, and interrupted agriculture, a famine

† A. D. 433.

mine enſued, which, however grievous to the *Britons* in one reſpect, was yet of ſervice to them in another; for it deſtroyed multitudes of their enemies, compelled the reſt to retreat, and ſo gave them time to recollect themſelves [g]. The iſſue of their deliberations, was, the ſending over the biſhop of *London* into *Armorica*, or *Britany*, in *France*, to demand aſſiſtance of their brethren ſettled there; and the reaſon aſſigned for this, in the *Britiſh* hiſtory, is very juſt and reaſonable; for the biſhop was charged to repreſent the chief cauſe of their weakneſs, to be the planting of that country, by the emperor *Maximus*, and the leaving there the greateſt part of the *Britiſh* navy. This repreſentation, had a proper effect upon the king of *Britany*; who, though he could not himſelf paſs over to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, yet, he ſent over his brother *Conſtantine*, with a ſquadron of ſtout ſhips, and, two thouſand men. This *Conſtantine* was crowned their king by the *Britons*, and by them ſurnamed *the Deliverer*, becauſe he fought valiantly and ſucceſsfully againſt their enemies, and, ruled worthily for ten years [h].

I KNOW very well, that many of our beſt writers reject this *Conſtantine*, and, would perſuade us, that there never was any ſuch prince; but that the whole is a fiction of the author of the *Britiſh* hiſtory. This notion, however, is ſo thoroughly refuted by a very learned writer, who long ſtudied, and perfectly underſtood the *Britiſh* records, that I cannot conceive any impartial critic will cenſure my following his opinion, when they have carefully peruſed,

[g] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 3. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. lib. i. Johan. de Fordun. Schoticron. lib. iii. cap. 11.

[h] Hiſt. Brit lib. vi. cap. 4, 5. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii. Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 138.

peruſed, and duly weighed his reaſons [1]: but what chiefly prevailed upon me, to follow the *Britiſh* hiſtory in this point, is, the authority of the *Saxon* annals, publiſhed by the late learned biſhop of *London*. For theſe annals place the retreat of the *Romans* in 435; and the coming of the *Saxons* in 443; which is the very year after this king *Conſtantine* died; and though theſe annals do not mention him, yet, as they tell us nothing of what paſſed in that interval, I can ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather follow the account given us by the *Britiſh* authors, of things which happened in this ſpace of time, than leave ſuch a chaſm in our hiſtory, merely becauſe other writers, who, none of them profeſs to write of the ſucceſſion of the *Britiſh* kings, ſay nothing of this prince. Eſpecially, ſince the *Scotch* hiſtorians own him, and there are other convincing proofs, from *Britiſh* record, of his having really reigned here; though perhaps there may be ſome error as to the length of his reign.

At the time of his deceaſe, he left three ſons, *Conſtans*, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and *Uter*, ſir-named *Pendragon*. *Conſtans* the eldeſt, was a very weak man, and by his father, deſtined to be a monk; the other two were children. *Vortigern*, a *Britiſh* nobleman, of great power, took *Conſtans* out of his monaſtry, and, to ſerve his own purpoſes, made him king. He governed for a time in his name; and, when he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to rule without him, he cauſed him to be put to death, and then ſeized the kingdom; the children of *Conſtantine* flying to *Britainy* †. This *Vortigern* it was, who, as the *Saxon* authors tell us, invited their countrymen over into *Britain*. He was, as all writers

[1] See Lewis's Ancient Hiſt. of Great-Britain, p. 157.

‡ A. D. 438.

riters agree, a very bad prince, who, by his tyrannical overnment, encouraged the *Scots* and *Picts* again, to inade the ſouthern parts of the iſland, and ſo alienating the inds of his ſubjects from him, that he durſt not rely on heir aſſiſtance, even for the defence of their country: This s ſo rational an account of his ſtrong inclination to foreigners, for which he is unanimouſly upbraided by all our authentic hiſtorians, that I cannot doubt its being truth [k]. The firſt *Saxons* who arrived, were *Horſa* and *Hengiſt*, two brothers, with their followers; by whoſe aſſiſtance, *Vortigern* repulſed the *Scots* and *Picts*, and ſettled himſelf effectually in the kingdom. To fix them, without whoſe aſſiſtance his ſecurity could not continue here, he gave them lands in *Kent*, where they landed; as alſo in the north, after they had beaten his enemies. Theſe *Saxons* came over in three ſhips; but, having thriven ſo well here, *Hengiſt*, who was a wiſe man, prevailed upon the king, firſt to give him leave to build a caſtle, and then to bring over a freſh ſupply of his countrymen, which he accordingly did, in a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips. With them, came over *Rowen*, the daughter of *Hengiſt*, a very beautiful and artful woman, whom *Vortigern* married, quitting for her ſake, his former queen, by whom he had three ſons; and, inviting over, by her ſuggeſtion, a vaſt number of *Saxons*, he thereby ſo irritated the *Britons*, that they reſolved to depoſe him; which accordingly they did, and ſet up his ſon [l].

THE

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[k] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 9. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii. Bed. Hiſt. [illegible] lib. i. Gildas de Excidio Britan. G. Malmeſb. de geſtis Reg. [illegible] lib. i. [l] Chronicon. Saxon. ad Ann. Dom. 449. Wi[illegible]hin. derebus Saxon. lib. i. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 10, 11, 12.

THE name of this young prince was *Vortimer*, a brave and worthy man †. He immediately raiſed an army, and as faſt as he could, equipped a fleet, while his degenerate father meanly fided with ſtrangers, againſt his ſubjects. The *Britiſh* writers ſay, that *Vortimer* defeated the *Saxons* in four battles; the firſt on the river *Derwent*; the ſecond, at *Ailesford*, in *Kent*, where *Horſa* was ſlain; the third was on the ſea-ſhore, on the loſs of which, they fled to the *iſle of Thanet*, where they thought they ſhould have been ſafe; but *Vortimer* having now raiſed the ſpirits of his ſubjects, and withal got together a conſiderable fleet; the *Saxons* found themſelves obliged to try their fortune in a naval engagement, in which they were beaten for the fourth time, and obliged to fly home, leaving their wives and children behind them in the *Iſle of Thanet*, nor had they ever returned, if *Vortimer* had lived; but he was ſhortly after poiſoned, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law[m]. It is true, the *Saxon* chronicle takes no notice of any of theſe battles, except that of *Ailesford*; wherein they ſay, they were victorious; but acknowledge that *Horſa* was there killed; which conceſſion, with the circumſtance of the *Saxons* never owning they were beat at all, ſeems to ſupport the credit of the *Britiſh* hiſtory.

AFTER the death of *Vortimer*, the *Britons* unaccountably invited *Vortigern* again to the throne. He, perſiſting in his old ſentiments, recalled *Hengiſt*, who ſoon brought over ſuch crowds of *Saxons*, that, when the king would have reſtrained him, it was not in his power; inſomuch, that after ſome fruitleſs ſtruggles, he at length fled into

† A. D. 4631. [m] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 13, 14. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii.

Wales, and left the beſt part of the iſland to their mercy: and thus, as their own writers agree, not more by their own valour, than by the weakneſs of an uxorious king, the *Saxons* firſt ſeated themſelves in *Britain*.

In this period of time, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, the ſecond ſon of *Conſtantine*, was become a man; and, being invited by the *Britons* to proſecute his claim to the crown, he got together a good fleet, and embarking thereon ten thouſand men, landed at *Totneſs* *. The firſt thing he did, was to purſue *Vortigern*, whom he defeated and killed; and then turned his arms againſt the *Saxons*, whom he defeated alſo in ſeveral battles; and in one of them, killed the famous *Hengiſt*, either in fight, or, as the *Britiſh* hiſtory reports, after he had made him priſoner [n]. It is true, there is no notice taken of this in the *Saxon* annals; but then they ſay nothing of what happened in that year; but tell us in the next, that *Eſta* ſucceeded *Hengiſt*, which is a circumſtance very favourable to the account which we have given; ſince as we before obſerved, there is no inſtance of their commemorating any defeat, though in ſetting down their victories they are very exact. After this victory, *Aurelius* made a peace with the *Saxons*, and was, not long after, at their inſtigation poiſoned. It is very remarkable, that *Paulus Diaconus* [o] mentions this britiſh king, and tells us, that by his valour he ſupported his ſinking country.

UTHER, Sir-named *Pendragon*, that is, dragon's head, from his bearing the head of a dragon in his Enſigns *, ſucceeded his brother, and carried on the war againſt the *Saxons* ſucceſsfully ſometimes, and at others was much diſtreſſed by them; ſo that he was conſtrained to treat them

* A. D. 481. [n] Hiſt. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 5, 6, 7. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii. [o] Hiſt. Miſcel. * A. 500.

them as the *French* afterwards did the *Normans*; that is, to yield them provinces, and content himself with homage, inſtead of abſolute ſovereignty; and therefore, under his reign, we find ſeveral *Saxon* principalities eſtabliſhed in this iſland. It likewiſe appears from the *Saxon* annals, that ſeveral battles were fought againſt the *Britons* in his reign, though he is never mentioned; becauſe, in thoſe annals, they ſpeak of no *Britiſh* princes, except ſuch as were by them either beaten or killed. In his reign alſo the kingdom was invaded from *Ireland*; but by the courage of this prince the enemy was repulſed, and the public tranquility reſtored; to preſerve which, he equipt a very conſiderable fleet, and this together with his dominions, he left to his ſon the famous *Arthur* [r].

THIS prince whoſe glory like that of many other martial monarchs, turns more to his prejudice than advantage, by giving an air of fable to his hiſtory, and bringing his real deeds in queſtion, through the extravagant pains beſtowed by thoſe who recorded them; this worthy prince, I ſay, atchieved great things, and intended greater [s]. Our learned antiquary *Leland*, long ago vindicated the reputation of his victories againſt the cavils of the critics; who, becauſe they do not find things exactly written in barbarous times, when indeed it is well they were written at all, will have them to be abſolute fables; as if the memory of facts could not out-live their circumſtances, the contrary of which every day demonſtrates to be a truth. My deſign will not permit me to ſay more upon this ſubject; nor indeed had I ſaid ſo much, if *Arthur* had not been one of the moſt eminent of our naval heroes. For he, as the

[r] Hiſt. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 24. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii. [s] A. D. 517.

Britiſh hiſtory informs us, which Mr. *Selden* did not diſdain to tranſcribe, annexed to his kingdom of *Britain* the ſix inſular provinces, *viz.* *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gothland*, the *Orcades* or *Orkneys*, *Norway* and *Denmark*[q], which throwing off the yoke under the reign of his ſucceſſor, were afterwards recovered by king *Malgo*, though held by the *Britons* after that but for a little time.

THUS we have brought down the naval hiſtory of this ancient nation to the time of its declenſion, and their being compelled by the *Saxons* to retire into *Wales*, and the counties adjacent thereto, where, according to there own hiſtorians, the *Britons* for ſeveral ages preſerved ſome maritime ſtrength. If any ſhould eſteem this ſo much time thrown away, and ſhould ſurmiſe that it had been better we had begun our hiſtory lower, that we might have written with more certainty; the anſwer is ready, and I hope ſatisfactory. Many of our wiſeſt antiquaries are of opinion, that we derive our excellent conſtitution from the *Britons*, their laws being tranſlated by the command of *Saxon* princes, and incorporated with their own. If then their conſtitution might be the model of ours, why not their naval dominion the ſource of ours? We are the deſcendants of the *Saxons*; but then, they were the ſucceſſors of the *Britons*, and did not think it beneath them to claim under them in this reſpect. Thus the glorious king *Edward* I. in a letter he wrote to the pope, in aſſerting his ſovereignty over *Scotland*, derives it from the conqueſt of *Arthur*; ſo that, it ſeems, his acts were matter of record and hiſtory then; though in the eyes of ſome they paſs for fables now. On the whole, therefore, if it be right to trace a title as high

[q] Hiſt. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 10. Vit. Hiſt. lib. viii.

high as poſſible, that is, as high as vouchers can be found to ſupport it; we are well juſtified as to the pains we have taken; and as to the certainty of later records, as we ſtate them in their proper periods, we loſe nothing by ſhewing whence they were derived.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that we follow ſome very great authorities, in paying this reſpect to the *Britiſh* hiſtory. *Cambden* himſelf though he ſuſpects it in the groſs, yet ſupports many hiſtorical paſſages in his great work of the deſcription of *Britain* from *Nennius*, and other *Britiſh* writers. The *Scottiſh* hiſtorian *Buchanan*, though he treats the work of *Jeoffrey* of *Monmouth* with great contempt, yet he acknowledges the hiſtory of *Arthur*, and gives more light into ſome parts of it than any other author. The profound *Selden*, who ſtudied our antiquities with equal application and judgment, proceeds likewiſe in this track. To conclude, the immortal *Shakeſpear*, whoſe works proclaim him as great a patriot as he was a poet; ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to preſerve the memory of our *Britiſh* worthies, by dedicating to their honour ſeveral of his plays, ſuch as, the tragedy of king *Lear*, *Cymbeline*, *Locrine*, &c. and the ſublime *Milton* had thoughts of doing the ſame; though he ſeems to have altered his mind when he wrote his hiſtory.

If ſo little certainty, occur in what the world has generally eſteemed matters of moment, we may very well ſuppoſe, that there is leſs ſtill to be gleaned up, from ancient writers, within this period, in reference to *Commerce*, yet ſomething there is, for what was there, ſave the thirſt of gain, that could eſtabliſh a regular intercourſe, between countries ſo diſtant, as *Phœnicia* and the *Britiſh* iſles. Yet ſuch a correſpondence there was, nor are we left quite in the dark, as to the motives upon which it was founded.

The *Phœnicians* in thoſe early days the greateſt *traders* in the world, viſited theſe iſlands for the ſake of their tin, which was excellent in its kind, and of which they had great plenty, and for this reaſon they beſtowed upon them the name of *Caſſiterides* [r], the reader will permit me to give him two inſtances with reſpect to the commercial ſpirit of thoſe ages, which are equally inſtructive and entertaining.

It was in *Spain* in which the *Phœnicians* had potent colonies and fruitful territories, that they fixed the *Staple* of their trade with thoſe iſlands beforementioned, and ſo jealous it ſeems, they were of having their route to the *Britiſh Indies* diſcovered, that a ſhip laden with tin being chaced by a *Roman* veſſel of greater force, the captain and owner, wilfully run her on ſhore, that he might have a chance for drawing his eager enemy into the ſame misfortune, or at leaſt, be ſecure of preventing his rich cargo from falling into his hands, and thereby tempt the *Romans* to think of opening a paſſage to thoſe iſlands themſelves. This conduct of his, was not only approved, but applauded by his countrymen, who made him ample ſatisfaction for his cargo. We are indebted for this intelligence to *Strabo* [s], one of the moſt learned and authentic writers of antiquity. The other paſſage is to be met with in *Soli-*

nus

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[r] Strab. Geogr. lib. iii. p. 147. Theſe iſlands are ſtiled *Caſſiterides* from the greek word *caſſiteros* which ſignifies tin; juſt as from the latin word *ſtannum* we have formed *ſtanneries* to ſignify tin works. In the like manner among the *Indian* nation called the *Drangi*, there was a city named *Caſſiteron* from its being a great mart for tin. *Stephanus*, de urbibus, alſo mentions in the *Indian* ſea an iſland called *Caſſitera* for the ſame reaſon.

[s] Geogr. lib iii. p. 175. Where we have expreſs mention that the *Romans* were exceedingly ſollicitous to intercept ſome of theſe tin ſhips.

mus[t], who assures us, that the inhabitants of the *Cassiterides* would not part with their valuable commodities for *money*, but insisted upon having *goods* for *goods*; now this could not arise from a spirit of barbarity, for the use of money was known to the *Britons*, though the metal they made use of for that purpose, was either copper or iron, but flowed from a spirit of *traffick*, and there is nothing absurd in supposing, that they either re-exported these *foreign* commodities, or manufactured some of them, and then sold them to other nations[u]; there being no greater skill required for that, than for extracting and refining metals.

THE goods and commodities of *Britain* in those early times were corn, cattle, hides, hounds, pearls, lead, tin, silver, and gold. The two first metals were of their own growth, but for the two last, I presume they had them from other nations in exchange. In process of time, when by their intercourse with the *Romans*, they were grown more polite; the *Britains* no doubt extended their trade, and tho' we have no authorities to enable us to give a distinct account of this matter: yet there is a passage in *Tacitus*, which proves it in the general very strongly, for he assures us, that the people of *Cornwall* by their constant intercourse with tra-

[t] De Britannis cap. xxv. He says they have no mercats there, and will deal with strangers no otherwise than by barter. But *Strabo* in the place before cited mentions them as a sober and civilised people, who wore commonly black garments, and particularly an inner or under robe reaching down to their ancles, girt under their breasts with a girdle, and walking commonly with staves in their hands.

[u] I might have cited *Strabo* also, in support of what is here advanced. He informs us that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the *Phœnicians*, this navigation could not be long concealed from the *Romans*. *Publius Crassus* was the first of their captains who visited these isles, who found the inhabitants very much addicted to peace and commerce by sea.

ders, became more courteous and civil, then the reſt of their countrymen [w]. And the ſame obſervation occurs in another antient writer [x]; ſo that notwithſtanding the obſcurity in which this ſubject is involved, we have the cleareſt certainty, that our anceſtors even in the moſt early times, knew the value of their native commodities, and in conſequence of that knowledge, procured for their own uſe, thoſe of other nations; and therefore theſe facts, drawn from *Greek* and *Latin* writers, whoſe authorities alone will paſs for evidence with the critics, ought at leaſt to have ſo much weight, as to render what is ſaid to the ſame purpoſe in the *Britiſh Hiſtory* of our intercourſe with northern nations not altogether ſo incredible, or ridiculous, as ſome would repreſent it.

THERE can be no doubt made, that when the *Romans* had fully reduced all the ſouthern part of this iſle, and had introduced their cuſtoms and manners among the natives, they muſt have made a great change in the face of affairs, introduced a more elegant and ſumptuous way of living, which conſequently was favourable to trade; and we have juſt reaſons to believe, cauſed abundance of good towns to be erected in places that were held convenient in that reſpect [y]. It is the conjecture of a moſt learned and judicious prelate, that *London*, called by the *Romans Auguſta*, owed its riſe to this [z]; but for my part, I rather believe, that it was a fortreſs and port too in the time of the *Britons*, and that it was afterwards altered, rebuilt and re-

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[w] Tacit. in Vit. Agric. [x] Diodor. Sicul. [y] See what our learned Camden ſays upon this ſubject, in his admirable Britannia, ſpeaking of the Romans in Britain. [z] Bp. Stillingfleet in his Diſcourſe concerning the Antiquity of London, in the Second Volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Caſes.

re-peopled by the *Romans*. We may form ſome judgment of the ſize of the towns in thoſe days, by what ſeveral hiſtorians relate of the miſchief done here, and at *Verulam*, by the *Britons*, when they endeavoured to throw off the *Roman* yoke under queen *Boadicea*. They then deſtroyed both *Verulam* and *London*, and in theſe two places, they cut off, as one hiſtorian ſays, ſeventy thouſand [a], or as another affirms, eighty thouſand citizens [b]. Now, at that time, it is agreed, that *London* was not ſo conſiderable a place as *Verulam*, and beſides, the *Roman* general had withdrawn out of *London*, all who were willing to quit the place; ſo that as *Tacitus* expreſly tells us, there were none left behind, except ſuch as through age and infirmities were unable to leave it, or ſuch as were ſo taken with the delights of it, that even the approaching danger could not induce them to leave it [c]. If therefore in ſuch circumſtances, ſuch numbers were killed in two places only, we muſt conclude from thence, that the country under the obedience of the *Romans*, was very populous. Yet in ſucceeding times, and when they were bleſſed with a long and general peace, the *Roman* dominion much farther extended, and beyond all compariſon better ſettled, the ſouthern parts of *Britain* muſt have been in a far more flouriſhing condition.

We have very large, and very accurate accounts of the ſeveral colonies planted, the many fortreſſes raiſed, and the diſpoſition of the great roads, which, with infinite diligence

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[a] Tacitus in Vit. Agric. See alſo our excellent countryman Mr. Bolton, in his moſt judicious and elegant work, entitled, Nero Cæſar. [b] Dio in Xiphilin. p. 168. See alſo Eutrop. Epitom. Hiſt. Rom. lib. vii. [c] It is obſerved by Tacitus, that it was the great opulence of theſe places which expoſed them to the fury of the *Britons*.

ligence, and no leſs ſkill, the *Romans* cauſed to be raiſed through all parts of *England*. We have very learned, and very curious diſſertations upon their inſcriptions, coins, and other antiquities, which have eſcaped the ſharp teeth of time, and have been preſerved to our days; all which plainly ſhew, that they were a very ingenious and polite, as well as a great, a wiſe, and a brave people [d]. But ſtill there ſeems to be wanting a political view of the *Roman* government in *Britain*, and of its effects, towards which, as occaſion offered, we have given ſome hints in this chapter; but, without doubt, the thing deſerves to be conſidered much more at large; and if it was attempted by any learned and able perſon, it would, without queſtion, afford both entertainment and inſtruction.

THIS would be now a much eaſier taſk than in former times, when ſo little was known of thoſe matters, that muſt be previouſly underſtood, before any certain and diſtinct notions could be formed about it; but when theſe matters are tolerably well ſettled, and when there is no longer any difficulty of obtaining a tolerable view of the ſtate of *Britain*, while it remained a *Roman* province; it would be much more uſeful to endeavour at collecting a rational view of their government, civil and military, the number of the inhabitants of their ſeveral towns diſtinguiſhed into proper claſſes, the ſtrength of their forces maintained here at different times, the ſeveral improvements that were made while they were in poſſeſſion of the iſland; for that they did make great improvements, their hiſtorians affirm, and the monuments ſtill remaining prove; all which

[d] See the many diſcourſes of our famous antiquaries Camden, Selden, Burton, &c. but more eſpecially Horſeley's Britannia Romana.

which would contribute to give the generality of readers better ideas of the *Roman* power and wiſdom, than they are like to attain from the reading of dry diſcourſes, about the difference of letters upon inſcriptions, or the uſe of this or that inſtrument in ſacrifices *. That during the flouriſhing ſtate of the *Roman* empire, their provinces here, had a full ſhare of this proſperity, and that the *Britons*, who lived in ſubjection, copied their manners, till they were corrupted by their luxury; which, with the ſhare they had frequently taken in the civil wars of the empire, rendered them an eaſy prey to barbarous invaders, is commonly known, and well enough underſtood; but as to the particulars before-mentioned, which would enable us to make a compariſon between the condition of the people in this iſland, then, and in ſucceeding times, we know very little, and our want of knowledge in this reſpect, has been the ſource of a great variety of errors, that one would wiſh to ſee confuted and expoſed, as they deſerve †.

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* I do not pretend to condemn theſe inquiries, but only to wiſh they were conducted and applied to ſome more material points.

† What gives me concern, is, to ſee our writers, ſo enthuſiaſtically fond of *Roman* power, and ſo unreaſonably ſevere upon the ancient *Britons*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Naval History of the SAXONS *from their first ſeating themſelves in this iſland, to their being ſubdued by the* DANES; *containing the Space of about five hundred Years.*

WE have very copious accounts of the ancient *Saxons*, before they tranſported themſelves out of *Germany*, as well in other authors, as their own [a]. They defended themſelves againſt the *Romans* with equal firmneſs and ſucceſs, manifeſting the love of liberty, not only by a generous contempt of death in the field; but alſo by ſtudiouſly avoiding luxury in times of peace; for which they are, deſervedly famous [b]. On the declenſion of the *Roman* empire, they became noted for their pyracies at ſea; inſomuch, that the emperors were forced to create a new officer here in *Britain*, called the *Count of the* Saxon *Coaſt*, purely to repel their invaſions [c]. In ſucceeding times, they infeſted the coaſts of *France* as well as *Britain*, and began to threaten greater exploits than they had hitherto undertaken [d]. We muſt, however,

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[a] Witichindus de rebus Saxon. Tacit. de morib. German. Sidon. Apollinar. Ammian. Marcellin. Hiſt. lib. xxviii. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 15. [b] Tacit. ubi ſupra. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv. cap. 3. [c] Notit. Dignitat. Occid. cap. 72. Joſeph Scaliger. ad Auſon. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Guliel. Camden. in Britan. p. 96. [d] Ethelwerd. Hiſt. lib. i. Henric. Huntingd. lib. ii. Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Epiſt. ad Numantium.

however, obſerve, that they were ſtiled pyrates only by their enemies, who felt the effects of their arms; for, as to themſelves, they looked on this courſe of life as a noble and neceſſary employment, for reaſons which will preſently appear.

THE *Saxon* writers ſay, that they were invited into *Britain* by king *Vortigern*, in order to aſſiſt him againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; but as we before obſerved, the *Britiſh* hiſtorians differ from them in this particular, and aſſert, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* landing with their forces in *Kent*, king *Vortigern*, who was then at *Canterbury* ſent for them, and received them into his ſervice, without any previous invitation. This account is very natural, and the circumſtances attending it highly deſerve the reader's notice. As ſoon as they were brought before him, ſays my author [a], he caſt his eyes upon the two brothers, who excelled all the reſt both in nobility, and gracefulneſs of perſon; and having taken a view of the whole company, aſked them of what country they were, and what was the occaſion of their coming into his kingdom? to whom *Hengiſt* (whoſe years and wiſdom entitled him to a precedence) in the name of the reſt, made the following anſwer. Moſt noble king, *Saxony*, which is one of the countries of *Germany*, was the place of our birth, and the occaſion of our coming, was to offer our ſervice to you, or ſome other prince. For we were driven out of our native country, for no other reaſon, but that the eſtabliſhed uſage of the kingdom required it. It is the cuſtom of that place, that, when it comes to be overſtocked with people, our princes from all provinces meet together, and command all the youth of the kingdom to aſſemble before them: then caſting lots, they make choice of the ſtrongeſt, and ableſt of them, to go into foreign climates,

[a] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 10. Vit. Hiſt. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 443.

mates, to procure them a ſubſiſtance, and free their native country from a ſuperfluous multitude of people. Our region therefore of late being actually over-ſtocked, our princes met; and, after lots caſt, made choice of the youth which you ſee in your preſence, and have obliged us to obey the cuſtom that had been eſtabliſhed of old. And us two brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, they made generals over them, out of reſpect to our anceſtors who enjoyed the ſame honour. In obedience, therefore, to laws ſo long held ſacred, we put out to ſea, and, under the happy guidance of (*Woden*) *Mercury*, have arrived in your kingdom.

THE *Saxon* annals acknowledge, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* came with no more than three ſhips; but that the fertility of the *Britiſh* ſoil, and the vices of its inhabitants induced them to think of ſending for more of their countrymen, in hopes of ſeating themſelves here [t]. Another of their hiſtorians gives ſtill a fairer and a fuller account of this matter. The *Saxons*, ſays he, made for ſome time a civil return to the *Britons* for their friendſhip; but by degrees, perceiving the country to be of a large extent, the ſoil fruitful, and the inhabitants little inclined to feats of arms; conſidering further, that themſelves and many of their brethren were deſtitute of ſettled habitations, they began to find fault with their pay, to murmur at the quantity of proviſions that were furniſhed them; and, daily encreaſing their numbers, they, at laſt, on theſe frivolous pretences, made peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, and, in conjunction with them, turned their arms upon the poor *Britons* [u]. In order to have a juſt notion of this matter, the reader muſt be informed,

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[t] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 449.

[u] Witichindus de rebus Saxon. lib. ix. cap. 2.

informed, that two *Saxon* chiefs, *Ocha* and *Ebiſſa*, with forty ſtout ſhips, had waſted the *Orkneys*, and afterwards ſeated themſelves and their followers, in the weſtern iſles and coaſts of *Scotland*, which on the invitation of *Hengiſt*, they quitted, in order to ſhare in his fortunes [h]. Though moſt of our writers call theſe invaders by the common name of *Saxons*; yet, in truth, there were three *German* nations, whence iſſued thoſe ſwarms of foreigners, who now took poſſeſſion of this iſland, *viz.* the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*. The *Saxons* erected here three principalities, *viz.* the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt *Saxons*. The *Angles* were, for ſome time, diſtinguiſhed into *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mid-Angles*, *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*. As for the *Jutes*, they ſettled in *Kent*, and in the iſle of *Wight*; and, in this laſt mentioned place, their poſterity remained ſo long unmixed, that, ſeveral ages after, the weſt *Saxons* called the inhabitants of that iſland *Jutes* [i].

For ſome time after their firſt ſettlement, they frequently encouraged freſh ſupplies, and ſometimes whole colonies to come over; but, after they had ſecured their poſſeſſions, and fixed their reſpective principalities, they applied themſelves entirely to the care of things at home, and very imprudently concluded, that keeping up great armies would ſecure them from foreign Invaſion. It was near three hundred years before they became abſolute lords of that part of the iſland, which they called *England* [k]; and in this ſpace, one *Saxon* prince or other entertaining all new comers in his ſervice, with a view of defending his own

[h] Nennius Hiſt. Britan. [i] Chronicon. Saxon. p. 12, 13. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1. Henric. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. ii. Vit. Hiſt. lib. viii. [k] Chronicon. Saxon. ad Ann. Dom. 743.

own dominions, or encroaching on thoſe of his neighbours, there were few rovers on the coaſt. But, in proceſs of time, the *Saxons* changed their policy, and, by ſtudying to keep the iſland to themſelves, created a greater miſchief than that which they endeavoured to avoid; for, while they received and employed foreigners in their wars, their inteſtine diviſions did not depopulate their kingdoms, one evil balancing the other. Yet, now, the conſequence of this management, and their altering their conduct, brought upon them a greater miſchief; for it drew over ſuch ſhoals of ſtrangers in hopes of employment and ſettlement, that the *Saxons*, in their own defence, were obliged to fortify their coaſt. Though they had the example of the *Britons* before them, they ſuffered themſelves to be diſtreſſed for want of a naval ſtrength; not having learned, as yet, that unerring maxim in policy, *that* power *is beſt* preſerved, *by the uſe of thoſe* means, *by which it was* obtained.

In one thing, they either followed the old *Britiſh* model, or brought the like cuſtom with them from *Germany*, viz. allowing a pre-eminence to one of their princes, who, while the reſt governed only within their reſpective dominions, had the ſuperiority over the whole; and thence, by way of diſtinction, was ſtiled *King* of the *Engliſh Men* [1]. This office, in ſome ſort, reſembled that of a *Dictator*, and, like it, was ſometimes uſeful, ſometimes detrimental; and, at laſt fatal to the people. *Offa*, the eleventh king of the *Mercians*, having attained this dignity, began to ſhew a diſpoſition of ruling abſolutely over his neighbours; for which he was better qualified than any of his predeceſ-

ſors,

[1] See Speed's Chronicle, in his account of the Saxon government.

fors, having parts, as well as power, ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries *. His ambition, however, united the *Britiſh* princes in *Wales*, and the *Saxon* kings in *England*, in an alliance againſt him; but he baffled their united force, as much by his wiſdom, as by the ſtrength and ſucceſs of his arms. To ſecure himſelf againſt the incurſions of the *Britons*, he threw up a ſtrong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river *Dee*, and, running along the mountains, ended at the fall of the *Wye*, near *Briſtol*. This ſtupendous work, the *Britons* called in their own language, *Clawdh Offa*, and the remains of it are ſtill known by the names of *Offa*'s *Ditch* [m]; and having thus ſecured himſelf on this ſide, he turned his forces againſt his *Saxon* neighbours. They, in their diſtreſs, applied themſelves to *Charles* the great, king of *France*, for protection, who wrote letters in a high ſtile to *Offa*, exhorting, or rather commanding, him to deſiſt from his enterprizes. But theſe, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, engaged that magnanimous prince to turn his thoughts on the proper means of ſecuring his dominions from foreign attempts; which he ſoon ſaw could no other way be done, than by keeping up a naval force. He therefore applied himſelf to the raiſing a conſiderable fleet; which rendered him ſo formidable, that *Charles*, who was already very powerful, and who became afterwards emperor, and in a manner lord of the continent, was glad to embrace his friendſhip; and accordingly an alliance was negotiated between them, by *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*, a perſon diſtinguiſhed for his great learning, and other accompliſhments, of which we have

* A. D. 755. [m] Gulielm. Malmeſb. de Geſtis Reg. Angl. lib. ii. Ethelwerd. Chronic. lib. ii. cap. 19. Roger. Hoveden. p. 409.

ſtill remaining many authentic teſtimonies [n]. This ſtep procured *Offa* both peace and reputation, during the remainder of his life; ſo that, in ſpite of the efforts of his enemies, he died quietly, after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years †, leaving to his ſucceſſors this uſeful leſſon; *that he, who will be ſecure on land, muſt be ſupreme at ſea* [o].

It muſt be obſerved, that it was under the reign of this prince, that the *Danes* firſt ſet foot in *England*; and, if they had always met with ſuch a reception as they then did, they had very probably abandoned all hopes of fixing here; for they were immediately forced to put to ſea, and ſome of them were ſlain [p]. A little after his death, they began to infeſt the coaſt of *Northumberland*, where they did incredible miſchief; ſpreading themſelves over the country, like locuſts; and when they had eaten up all they could meet with, where they firſt landed, hoiſted ſail for ſome new place. It happened unfortunately, that the remains of the *Britons* had ſtill ſo inveterate a hatred againſt the *Saxons*, that, inſtead of joining with them to repreſs theſe new invaders, which was certainly their intereſt, they, on the contrary, aſſiſted them againſt their old oppreſſors. *Ecgbrybt*, king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, having raiſed himſelf to the ſovereignty of *England*, equitted a fleet, and defeated a *Daniſh* ſquadron of thirty-five ſhips, at *Charmouth*, in *Dorſetſhire*, with prodigious ſlaughter; yet this did not hinder them two years after, from landing with a vaſt force in *Wales*, where they were joined by their confederates the *Britons*. King *Ecgbrybt* oppoſed them, both with a fleet and army; and though he was not able

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[n] Gulielm. Malmeſb. de Geſtis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 5. Alcuin. Oper. in Epiſt. p. 1669. † A. D. 795. [o] Chronicon Saxon. p. 65. [p] Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 787.

to do much by ſea, yet, coming to a general engagement on ſhore, he defeated the enemy, compelling the *Britons* to fly to the mountains, and the *Danes* to their ſhips [q]. This kind of war was long continued, and exceedingly weakened the *Saxons*. Their authentic chronicle informs us, that king *Ethelſtan*, in the life-time of his father, commanded the *Britiſh* fleet, and, off *Sandwich*, defeated the *Danes* in a bloody battle, taking nine of their ſhips, and obliging the reſt to leave the coaſt; yet, ſoon after, they returned with three hundred and fifty ſail; and, landing, took *Canterbury*, and other places; and afterwards *London* [r]. From this time forward, the *Saxons* in a manner abandoned all thoughts of naval affairs, and fought only how to fortify their cities, and to defend themſelves as well as they could againſt their barbarous enemies, after they were landed. This was a fatal miſtake; for, by thus permitting the enemy to land without interruption, ſmall Bodies of *Danes*, whom they might eaſily have cut off, had they attacked them ſeparately, united themſelves into irreſiſtible armies; and, being by degrees accuſtomed to conqueſt, and driving the inhabitants from the coaſts, they at laſt thought of ſettling, and being themſelves equally proud and lazy, made a kind of ſlaves of the country people, obliging them to plow, ſow, and reap for them as their maſters.

SUCH was the ſituation of things, during the reigns of *Ethelwolf*, *Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*; ſo that when *Alfred*, or *Elfred*, came to the throne ‡, he had, properly ſpeaking, a kingdom without ſubjects. The country was deſtroyed;

[q] Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 833, 835. [r] Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 851. ‡ A. D. 871.

all the cities and great towns demoliſhed, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been ſometimes compelled to fighting nine or ten battles in a year. In ſhort, their wealth, their ſtrength, their ſpirits were exhauſted; and, inſtead of attempting to defend themſelves as they were wont, they began every where to ſubmit to the *Danes*, and to embrace rather a ſettled ſlavery, than a precarious freedom, in a country, now become a deſart, and where it was a difficult matter to find ſubſiſtance, even when for a ſmall time releaſed from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not deſpair of the public ſafety; but with equal vigour and prudence applied himſelf at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; ſo that, in a ſhort time, encouraged by his example, the *Saxons* began to reſume their ſpirits, and in many battles defeated the *Danes*, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit their country; and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongſt them upon reaſonable conditions, and in a regular way [a].

THERE were two maxims which the king ſteadily purſued, and thereby extricated himſelf from his troubles. The firſt was, fighting the enemy, if poſſible, at ſea; of which we have frequent inſtances in the *Saxon* chronicle, and almoſt always with advantage; by the ſteady purſuit of which method, he had conſtantly a fleet, and conſiderable numbers of experienced ſailors. But, as it was impoſſible to guard all the coaſts of his dominions; and, as the

[a] Aſſer. Meneven. in vit. Alfræd. Mag. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de Geſtis Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. 4. Henric. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. v. p. 349. Roger. Hoved. p. 416. Ethelwerdi Chronicon. lib. iv. cap. 3. Chronicon. Saxon. p. 82.

the enemies ſquadrons were frequently ſuperior to his own, he was ſometimes obliged to fight on ſhore; and, in this caſe, he likewiſe uſed all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time, either to gain intelligence, or to get refreſhment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ableſt men, not only in the ſciences, but alſo in arts; and to converſe with them frequently and familiarly. By this means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a compariſon of informations, of which even thoſe, from whom he learned them, were ignorant; and by his ſuperior judgment, ſo adapted the intelligence that he received, as to render his ſmall-force ſucceſsful, both at ſea and land, againſt his numerous enemies.

In maritime affairs, he was particularly skilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the ſagacity he diſcovered in providing a kind of ſhips of a new conſtruction, deviſed by himſelf; which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practiſed in naval armaments, and whoſe experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his ſuperiors in this art. He conſidered with himſelf, that, as the fleets of theſe invaders were frequently built in a hurry, haſtily drawn together, meanly provided, in reſpect to victuals and rigging, and crouded with men, a few ſhips of a larger ſize, built in a new manner, of well ſeaſoned materials, thoroughly ſupplied with ammunition and proviſion, and manned by expert ſeamen, muſt at firſt ſight, ſurprize; and, in the courſe of an engagement, deſtroy numbers without any great hazard to themſelves. In purſuance of this project, he cauſed a certain number of ſhips to be built, capable of holding, each, ſixty rowers, and as in that double, in all other reſpects, to the largeſt ſhips then in

uſe. Theſe he ſent to ſea, with an expreſs prohibition, either to receive, or give, quarter; but to put to death all who fell into their power [t]. Inſtructions perfectly ſuited to the deſign on which theſe ſhips were fitted out; and to the circumſtances the king's affairs were then in. In ſaying this, we only copy ancient authors; who, are loud in the praiſes of *Alfred*, and take abundance of pains to poſſeſs their readers with high ideas of his wiſdom, courage, and other virtues. But it will, perhaps, be more ſatisfactory, the nature of this work, eſpecially, conſidered, to examine this matter a little more cloſely; and thereby convince ſuch as will pay a proper attention, that things were really as theſe writers have ſtated them; and, that there was ſomething highly uſeful, and, at the ſame Time, very extraordinary, in this invention; which, as we have ſeen, was entirely due to this monarch's ſagacity and penetration.

THE learned ſir *John Spelman*, who wrote an accurate life of this famous prince, ſeems to be in much uncertainty on this ſubject; he is not able to determine, whether they were ſhips, or gallies; nor can he well reconcile the heighth of the veſſels to the number of rowers; but, after having intimated many doubts, and cleared none of them, he leaves the reader in that perplexity into which he brought him [u]. In the firſt place, then, it appears from good authority, that they were gallies; which takes away all difficulty about the rowers, ſince, in the *Mediterranean*, theſe ſort of veſſels are common, becauſe they are convenient;

[t] Chronic. Saxon. pag. 98. Henric. Huntind. Hiſtor. lib. v. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis regum Anglorum. lib. ii. cap. 4. Rog. Hoveden. p. 420. [u] Life of king Ælfred the great, p. 150, 151.

nient; for the ſame reaſon which inclined king *Alfred* to make uſe of them, the facility of running with them cloſe into ſhore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet ſwifter, than the veſſels in common uſe, in a duplicate proportion, which is the true ſenſe of what ancient writers ſay of them, may be eaſily conceived; and thence their great utility aroſe. We have ſeen that, in point of numbers, the king had no hope of equaling his enemies; by this contrivance, he removed that difficulty which ſeemed otherwiſe inſuperable. For, with a ſquadron of theſe ſhips, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the ſame number of the enemy; becauſe the force of his ſhips rendered thoſe on board them, able to deal with as many as they could grapple with; and, in caſe of the enemy's having either the weather-gage, or ſome other accidental advantage, their ſwiftneſs enabled them to bear away; as, on the other hand, the ports were all their own. As to their inſtructions, we cannot call them cruel; becauſe, whatever their enemies might think of themſelves, they were certainly eſteemed by the *Saxons*, and with good reaſon, enemies to mankind; incapable, as experience had convinced them, of keeping faith, and, therefore, altogether unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this ſeverity was neceſſary for two reaſons; firſt, in reſpect to ſelf-defence. Theſe ſhips, though large in compariſon of other veſſels, were, however not large enough to carry priſoners with any ſafety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, excluſive of their oars, above a hundred and twenty men, if ſo many. *Secondly*, it was prudent for example ſake, in order to ſtrike a terror into theſe rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infeſting this iſland, and inclined rather to proſecute their deſigns on ſome other coaſt. Add to all this another circum-

ſtance, preſerved to us in the *Saxon* chronicle, and *Alfred*'s wiſdom will from thence moſt inconteſtably appear. Theſe gallies were built after the model of the *Friſian* or *Daniſh* ſhips [*]; ſo that they were wholly ſtrange to the enemy, who for a long time knew not how to board them, though their courage might be great, and themſelves, for the age in which they lived, able ſeamen.

BUT it is now time to deſcend to facts, of which ſome are very well worth the reader's notice. The ſame year that few of theſe ſhips were firſt built [*], ſix pirates of an unuſual bigneſs, infeſted the *Iſle of Wight*, and the coaſts of *Devonſhire*. The king immediately ordered nine of his new ſhips in queſt of them, with inſtructions to get, if poſſible, between them and the ſhore. Three of the pirates, as ſoon as they perceived them, ran a ground; but the other three ſtood out to ſea, and boldly engaged the king's ſhips. Of theſe, two were taken, and all the men killed: the third, indeed, eſcaped; but with five men only. They then attacked the ſhips which ran a-ground, and killed a great number of men. At length the tide took them off; but in ſo battered and leaky a condition, that it was with much difficulty they reached the coaſt of the ſouth *Saxons*, where, again running on ſhore two of their veſſels, the men endeavoured to eſcape; but were taken, and carried to *Wincheſter*, and there by order of the king were hanged. The third veſſel, though the men in her were grievouſly wounded, eſcaped; and, in this ſingle year, not leſs than twenty ſhips, with all the men on board

[*] Chronic. Saxon. A. D. 897. [*] Hen. Huntingdon. hiſt. int. ſcript. poſt Bedam. p. 350, 351. Rog. Hoveden, p. 420, 421. Chron Saxon. p. 98. Chron. Joan. Brompton int. x. hiſtor. ad A. D. 897. [*] A. D. 897.

beard them, were deſtroyed; on the ſouth coaſt only; which ſufficiently demonſtrates, what mighty advantages were derived from this happy invention of the king's. If the reader ſhould enquire how this ſuperiority at ſea was loſt, we muſt obſerve, that it was very late in the king's life, before his experience furniſhed him with light ſufficient for this noble deſign, which very probably his ſucceſſors wanted ſkill to proſecute; though, as will be hereafter ſhewn, they were moved by his example, to make great efforts for preſerving their territories on ſhore, by maintaining the ſovereignty of the ſea.

THOUGH this care of his own fleet was very commendable, yet the concern he ſhewed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his ſubjects, and the diſcovering and deſcribing far-diſtant countries, deſerves ſtill higher commendation; becauſe the firſt might be, in ſome meaſure, aſcribed to neceſſity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was inconteſtably the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of uſe to all the nations of *Europe*. It was in order to further theſe views, that he kept conſtantly in his court, at a very great expence, the moſt eminent men for worth and knowledge of all nations, ſuch as *Gauls*, *Franks*, *Germans*, *Friſons*, *Armoric Britons*, beſides the inhabitants of every corner of the *Britiſh* iſles; of whom he enquired, and from whom he learnt, whatever was known in thoſe days, which the ſequel will ſhew, was more than any of the moderns imagine. Two inſtances have been tranſmitted, with authentic circumſtances, from his time to ours. The firſt is, his ſending perſons to diſcover the utmoſt extent of the *Artic* regions, and the poſſibility of a paſſage on that ſide to the north-eaſt. The other, his correſpondence with

the

the *Indies*. Facts ſo extraordinary in themſelves, of ſuch high importance in reſpect to the ſubjects of which this work treats, and hitherto left in ſuch obſcurity, by thoſe who ought to have given us a better account of them, that I preſume my dwelling upon them, will be conſidered rather as a juſt tribute to *Alfred*'s glorious memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as a tedious or unneceſſary digreſſion.

Sir *John Spelman*, who, as I before obſerved, conſidering the time in which he wrote, hath left us an excellent hiſtory of this monarch, tells us [z], that he had been informed, there was in the *Cotton-Library*, a memorial of a voyage of one *Othher* a *Dane*, performed, by this king's procurement, for the diſcovery of a north-eaſt paſſage. This paper, he ſays, he could never ſee; but he judged, and I think with reaſon, that it contained nothing more, than the relation of that voyage, printed in the collections of *Hakluyt* and *Purchas*, which are in every body's hands; and, if there had been no better account of the matter, even that would have deſerved much attention. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation, inſerted in the *Saxon* verſion of *Oroſius*, made by king *Alfred* himſelf [a], whereby it appears, that *Obthur*, for ſo he is called in this authentic manuſcript, was a native of *Halgoland*, which lies in 66° of north latitude; a man of great ſubſtance, of more than ordinary ſkill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce of

[z] Life of king Ælfred the Great, p. 151. [a] There is a fair copy of this among Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The narrative here mentioned, together with a Latin tranſlation of the Saxon original, is inſerted in the appendix to the Latin verſion of Sir John Spelman's life of Alfred, publiſhed by Walker, whence theſe facts are taken.

of the north. He ſurveyed the coaſts of *Norway* and *Lapland*, by the direction of king *Alfred*, and preſented him not only with a clear deſcription of thoſe countries, and their inhabitants, but alſo brought him ſome of the horſe-whales teeth, which were then eſteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale-fiſhing. This, probably, encouraged the king to ſend *Wulfſtan*, an *Engliſh* man, to view theſe northern countries, of which he alſo gave him a relation. Both theſe narratives are written with ſuch accuracy, in point of geography, ſo much plainneſs and probability in reſpect to facts, and are interminxed with ſuch juſt and prudent obſervations, that whoever ſhall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous *Olaus Magnus*, archbiſhop of *Upſal*, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the ſame countries [a], will ſtand amazed, and readily confeſs, that the age of *Alfred* was an age of good ſenſe, and far ſuperior in knowledge to thoſe which ſucceeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what *Ohther* or *Wulfſtan* deliver; but all exactly conformable to what the diſcoveries of the laſt and preſent age have taught us. Hence, I muſt beg leave to infer, that what we read of fleets ſent ſo far north by the *Britons*, is far from being ſo incredible, as ſome critics would make us believe; for we can hardly imagine, that *Alfred* ſhould ever think of ſuch an expedition, without ſome previous informations; and that he might have theſe from the *Britons*, will appear very probable, if we conſider what is related in their hiſtories; and that *Aſſer* of St. *David's*, a learned

[a] The title of this book is, Hiſtoria de Gentibus Septentrionalibus, &c. It was printed originally at Rome, in 1555, in folio; and there is an Engliſh tranſlation, in 1658.

learned *Briton*, was one of this king's moſt intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign [b], addreſſed to himſelf, which are yet extant.

As to the *Indian* voyage, it was occaſioned chiefly by the king's charity, who, hearing of the diſtreſs of the chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, reſolved to ſend them relief. The perſon he made choice of, was one *Swithelm*, called in latin *Sigelmus*, a prieſt, who honeſtly executed his commiſſion, and was ſo fortunate as to return back, bringing with him an immenſe treaſure of *India* goods, and amongſt them precious ſtones, perfumes, and other curioſities, of which the king made preſents to foreign princes: as the reward of ſo acceptable a ſervice, *Sigelmus* was made biſhop of *Sherburn*; and *William* of *Malmeſbury*, in his *pontifical hiſtory*, gives us a diſtinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only ſtruck with wonder ſuch as lived in the time when it was performed, but was conſidered with admiration, even in the age in which he lived; adding, that *Sigelmus* had left to his church ſeveral of theſe *Indian* curioſities, as unqueſtionable evidences of ſo extraordinary a thing [c]. It is true, that *Aſſer* of St. *David's*, whom we before-mentioned, ſays nothing of this *Indian* voyage, though he is very particular in whatever relates to the power, ſplendour, or reputation of that monarch. But it would be a raſh and unjuſt concluſion, to argue from his ſilence, that no ſuch voyage was performed. *Aſſer*, as appears from a paſſage in his memoirs, wrote them in the year 893, at which time *Sigelmus* was not returned. But it is very remarkable, that under the year

[b] The laſt edition of this venerable work was printed at Oxford, A. D. 1722, 8vo. [c] Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis pontific. Anglorum, lib. ii. p. 247, 248.

year 887, which was that wherein *Sigelmus* ſet out, *Aſſer* celebrates the king's extenſive correſpondence, and the great court that was paid him by princes, and other perſons of eminence, in all parts of the world, and he particularly mentions letters from *Abel* patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, which he ſaw and read [d]; and theſe very probably, were the very letters which occaſioned the king's ſending *Sigelmus*. Add to this, that *Aſſer* died ſoon after the return of this great traveller, who ſucceeded him in the biſhoprick of *Sherburn* [e]; ſo that the whole of this narration is perfectly clear, and well connected. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that theſe chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, inhabit the peninſula of *India*, and, that the commodities which *Sigelmus* is ſaid to have brought back, are preciſely thoſe of their country. Sir *John Spelman* obſerves further upon this ſubject, that, the value and uſe of theſe curioſities being little known here, the king ſought out for artiſts of all ſorts, particularly goldſmiths and jewellers, for the working of them: and ſuch were the defects of thoſe times, and ſo excelling was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in thoſe works alſo, the artificers themſelves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius and manufactured that he deſigned to them [f]. And, as if there was ſomething peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have ſtill remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean, a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the iſland of *Athelney*, which was the king's retreat when he fled from the *Danes*, in the beginning of his

[d] Annal. rer. geſtar. Ælfredi magni, p. 58. Chron. Joan. Bompton. ad A. D. 887. [e] Gul. Malmeſbur. ubi ſupra. [f] Spelman's life of Ælfred, p. 204.

his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monaſtery. This curious relick is yet preſerved in the *Aſhmolean* collection of curioſities, and, beſides its excellent workmanſhip, hath a *Saxon* inſcription to this purpoſe, ÆLFREDUS ME JUSSIT FABRICARI, *i. e.* ALFRED *directed this to be made* [t]. Having thus, to the utmoſt of my ability, cleared and juſtified theſe naval expeditions performed near a thouſand years ago, I return now to the thread of my hiſtory, and to an account of what the *Saxons* performed at ſea, after this wiſe monarch had ſhewn them the uſe and importance of a naval force.

* *EDWARD* ſucceeded his father *Alfred*, and proved a very great prince: however, his reign was diſturbed, both by inteſtine diviſions, his couſin *Ethelwald* pretending to the kingdom, and by foreign invaſions of the *Danes*, who, at the requeſt of this *Ethelwald*, came in the fourth year of the king's reign, in vaſt numbers into *England*. King *Edward*, finding it impoſſible to hinder their landing, drew together an army as ſoon as he could, and followed them into *Kent*, where he engaged them, and in a bloody battle killed *Eric* the *Daniſh* king, and *Ethelwald* who had ſtirred up this war. But, finding that he was ſtill diſturbed with new ſwarms of theſe northern rovers, he had recourſe to his fleet; and, having drawn together a hundred ſhips upon the coaſt of *Kent*, he ſucceſsfully engaged the enemy, and forced the greateſt part of their fleet on ſhore; and then, landing himſelf, defeated their forces in a bloody battle, wherein, tho' he loſt abundance of men, yet he entirely defeated his enemies, killing moſt of their chief commanders upon the-

[t] Annal. Ælfred. magn. p. 170, 171. * A. D. 901.

the ſpot. By degrees he raiſed his reputation ſo high, not only by his military exploits, but by his gentle government and wiſe proviſion for his ſubjects ſafety, that all the petty princes throughout *Britain*, congratulated him of their own accord on his ſucceſs, willingly owned him for their lord, and humbly deſired his protection. The very *Danes* who were ſettled in the iſland, took the ſame method of ſecuring themſelves againſt his arms: but within a very ſhort ſpace after this extraordinary mark of good fortune he died; and in a ſhort ſpace after his younger brother, who had ſucceeded him [h].

* *ETHELSTAN* ſucceeded his brother, and gave early proofs of his being the worthy grandſon of the great *Alfred*. He diſcovered, from his firſt aſcending the throne, a great diſlike to that policy, which his predeceſſors had uſed, of ſuffering the *Danes*, and other ſtrangers, who, by force, had ſeated themſelves in the iſland, to become legal poſſeſſors, in conſideration of ſome ſmall acknowledgment, and a feigned ſubjection, which was ſure to laſt no longer, than they had a fair opportunity of revolting. This was, certainly, a right maxim; and one may ſafely affirm, that this monarch was the greateſt politician; and, at leaſt, as great a captain as any of the *Saxon* kings. He wiſely judged, that there was no executing his ſcheme without a conſiderable force; and therefore he kept his army, and his fleet in conſtant readineſs [h]. At the beginning of his reign, he made, or rather renewed, the alliance ſubſiſting between his brethren; and *Conſtantine*, then king of *Scots*, conceiving that, as their intereſts were the

[h] Chron. Saxon. p. 99. * A. D. 925. [h] Chron. Sax. p. 3. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6. Hen. Huntindon. lib. v. p. 351. Roger. Hoveden. p. 422.

the ſame, this would bind him to a due performance of the treaty: in which, however, he was miſtaken; for *Conſtantine* ſuddenly broke it; either out of caprice, or from an apprehenſion of *Ethelſtan*'s power. Immediately upon this, the *Saxon* invaded *Scotland* with a royal army, and waſted its coaſts with a mighty fleet; which brought *Conſtantine* to a ſubmiſſion, much againſt his will, as he diſcovered ſome years after. As ſoon as *Ethelſtan* was retired, the *Scot* began to intrigue with the *Britons* on one ſide, and with *Anlaff*, whom moſt of our hiſtorians ſtile king of *Ireland*, but who in reality was a *Daniſh* prince, ſettled there by conqueſt on the other. In conſequence of theſe negotiations, the *Britons* marched northwards, with a great army; where they were joined by the whole force of the *Scots*: *Anlaff* coming at the ſame time to their aſſiſtance, with a more numerous fleet than had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas. *Ethelſtan*, inſtead of being dejected at the ſight of ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, reſolved to decide the quarrel, by attacking them both at ſea and land, at the ſame time; which he accordingly performed with equal valour and ſucceſs. In this battle, there fell five kings, and ſeven *Daniſh* chiefs ‡. It was the bloodieſt engagement that, till then, had ever happened in this iſland; and in the *Saxon* chronicle, there is a moſt elegant account of it. By this grand defeat, king *Ethelſtan* effectually carried his point, and rendered himſelf the moſt abſolute monarch that had ever reigned in *Britain* [1]. The uſe he made of his victory, was, effectually to ſecure his Dominions, by taking from the petty princes, ſuch places as he judged to be dangerous in their hands;

‡ A. D. 938. [1] Chron. Saxon. p. 112, 113, 114.

hands; and in all probability he would have effectually eſtabliſhed the *Saxon* power, if he had long ſurvived; but he died about a year after, having ſwayed the ſcepter, ſome ſay, fourteen, others, ſixteen years.

† *EDMUND*, his brother, ſucceeded him in the throne, and found himſelf under a neceſſity of conteſting the poſſeſſion of it with his old enemy *Anlaff*, and his aſſociates; whom he defeated, and with whom he afterwards made peace; but, finding that there was no dependance upon the faith, either of the *Daniſh* or *Britiſh* princes ſeated in the north, he ſeized on the kingdom of *Northumberland*, and added it to his own dominions, giving *Cumberland* to the king of *Scots* as his feudatory. He had no great occaſion for naval armaments, the fame of his brother's power preſerving him from foreign invaſions; ſo that, after a ſhort reign, he left his crown to his brother *Edred* [k]. This prince had ſcarce aſſumed the regal dignity, before he was aſſailed by his old enemies, the *Scots* and *Danes*; againſt whom he had not ſo great ſucceſs as his brethren; not through any fault of his, but rather by the treaſonable practices of ſome of his powerful ſubjects. His nephew *Edwy*, ſtept after him into the throne; and diſobliging the monks, they have tranſmitted to poſterity an account of nothing but his vices [l]. It ſhould ſeem, however, that, during the reign of all theſe kings, the naval power of the *Saxons* was continually increaſing, of which we ſhall ſee immediate proof; and to this we may aſcribe their not being plagued with any of thoſe invaſions from the north, which had ſo much diſturbed their predeceſſors.

† A. D. 941. [k] Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. reg. An. lib. ii. c. 7. [l] Speed's Chronicle, p. 369.

† *EDGAR*, very juſtly ſtiled the great, ſucceeded his brother *Edwy*; and from his firſt aſcending the throne, demonſtrated himſelf worthy of being the heir of *Alfred* and *Ethelſtan*. He thoroughly underſtood, and ſucceſsfully purſued their maxims; for he applied himſelf, from the beginning of his reign, to the raiſing a mighty maritime force; and to the keeping in due ſubjection all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable; that he gave too much into foreign cuſtoms, and indulged the *Danes* in living promiſcuouſly with his own people; which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the ſtate of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad uſe in ſucceeding times. In all probability, he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed, much more than any of his anceſtors had done. But he enjoyed it, as a king of this iſland ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleaſure, unworthy a prince; but by aſſiduouſly applying himſelf to affairs of ſtate; and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greateſt danger. But it is neceſſary to enter into particulars, ſince we are now come to the reign of that king, who moſt clearly vindicated his right to the DOMINION of the SEA, and who valued himſelf on his having juſtly acquired the title of PROTECTOR of COMMERCE.

As to his fleet, all writers agree, that it was far ſuperior to any of his predeceſſors, as well as much more powerful than thoſe of all the other *European* princes put together; but they are by no means of the ſame mind, as to the number of ſhips of which it was compoſed. Some fix it at three thouſand ſix hundred[m]; others, at four thouſand

† A. D. 957. [m] Roger Hoveden. p. 426. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 975.

thouſand [n]; and there wants not authority to carry it ſo high, as four thouſand eight hundred [o]. However, the firſt ſeems to be the moſt probable number; and therefore to it we ſhall keep. Theſe ſhips he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred ſail, and kept them conſtantly ſtationed; one on the eaſt, another on the weſt, and the third, on the north coaſt of the kingdom: neither was he ſatisfied with barely making ſuch a proviſion; he would likewiſe ſee that it anſwered the ends for which he intended it. In order to this, every year after *Eaſter*, he went on board the fleet, ſtationed on the eaſtern coaſt; and, ſailing weſt, he ſcoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay, from the *Thames* mouth to the lands end in *Cornwall*. Then, quitting theſe ſhips, he went on board the weſtern fleet, with which, ſteering his courſe to the northward, he did the like, not only on the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* coaſt, but alſo on thoſe of *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*, which lie between them and *Britain*; then, meeting the northern fleet, he ſailed in it to the *Thames* mouth [p]. Thus ſurrounding the iſland every ſummer, he rendered any invaſion impracticable, kept his ſailors in continual exerciſe, and effectually aſſerted his ſovereignty over the ſea. As a further proof of this, he once held his court at *Cheſter*; where, when all his feudatory princes had aſſembled, in order to do him homage, he cauſed them to enter a barge; and, ſitting four on one ſide, and four on the other, they rowed, while he ſteered the helm; paſſing thus in triumph on the river *Dee*, from his palace to the monaſtery of St. *John*, where he landed, and

[n] Chron. Joan. Brompton. [o] Matthæus Florileg. [p] Hen. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. v. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 426, 427. Alured. Beverlac. Annal. lib. viii.

received their oaths to be his faithful vaſſals, and to defend his rights by land and by ſea: and then, having made a ſpeech to them, he returned to his barge, and paſſed in the ſame manner back to his palace. The names of theſe princes were, *Kenneth* king of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* king of *Cumberland*, *Maccuſius* king of *Man*, and of the iſles; and five petty kings of the *Britons*. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleaſed to ſay, that his ſucceſſors might juſtly glory in the title of kings of the *Engliſh*; ſince, by this ſolemn act, he had ſet their prerogative above all diſpute [q]. *John Fox* blames this ſpeech, as an inſtance of the king's pride and vanity [r]; which was owing to a narrowneſs of mind; for ſurely the king intended no more than to ſecure his juſt rights, as his ſpeech declared, and thereby to diſtinguiſh between a wiſe act of policy, and a mere pompous parade.

In the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to ſee that juſtice was duly adminiſtered; to prevent his nobles from becoming oppreſſors; and to ſecure the meaneſt people from ſuffering wrong. Theſe were the arts by which he ſecured tranquility to himſelf; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his ſubjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it; ſo that, in his whole reign, there happened but one diſturbance; and that, through the intemperate fury of the *Britons*, who, while he was in the north, committed great diſorders in the weſt. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and, that they might feel the

[q] Gul. Malmeſbur. hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 8 p. 50. Florent. Wigorn. ad An. Dom. 347. Henr. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. v. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p 426. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. [r] In his Acts and monuments.

the effects of plundering, ſuffered his ſoldiers to take whatever they could find: but when he ſaw the people reduced to extreme miſery, he rewarded his army out of his own coffers, and obliged them to reſtore the ſpoils; by which he left thoſe, whom he found rebels, the moſt affectionate of all his ſubjects [s]. Well, therefore, might our ancient hiſtorians boaſt as they did of this prince; and ſay, that he was comparable to any of the Heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far ſurpaſſed them; for, whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he eſtabliſhed his reputation on a nobler foundation; that of reigning ſixteen years, without a thief found in his dominions on land, or a pyrate heard of at ſea [t]. One thing more I muſt mention, as being much to my purpoſe, though ſlighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign; wherein his ſtile runs thus, *Ego* Edgarus, *totius Albionis Baſileus, necnon Maritimorum ſeu Inſulanorum Regum circumhabitantium*, &c. That is, I *Edgar*, Monarch of all *Albion*, and ſovereign over all the princes of the adjacent iſles, *&c.* which plainly aſſerts his naval dominion [u]. As he lived, ſo he died, in peace, and full of glory †. Happy had it been for his ſucceſſors, if, with his dominions, they had inherited any portion of his ſpirit. But, alas! governed by women, and ridden by prieſts, they quickly broke to pieces that mighty power which he bequeathed them.

His ſon *Edward*, a child, ſucceeded him; but, by that time he had reigned three years, he was, by the contri-

[s] Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. lib. vi. [t] Roger. Hoved. p. 426. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 947. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. [u] Guliel Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 8.
† A. D. 975.

vance of his mother-in-law, baſely murdered, to make way for her ſon *Ethelred*, who mounted the throne after his deceaſe; but who was entirely governed by this dowager queen, his mother *. In ſix years after the death of *Edgar*, the ſtrength of the nation was ſo far ſunk, that a *Daniſh* ſquadron, conſiſting of no more than ſeven ſhips, infeſted the coaſt, and plundered *Southampton* *; and, in a few years after, they ravaged and burned all the coaſt; inſomuch that, in 991, the king, by the advice of *Siricius*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, made a treaty with the *Danes*, and endeavoured to bribe them by a ſubſidy of ten thouſand pounds, to forbear plundering; which gave the firſt riſe to that infamous tribute, called *Danegeld* *. This produced an effect which might have been eaſily foreſeen, though quite contrary to what was intended; for the *Danes* committed greater rapines than ever; ſuppoſing, that the worſe they treated the king's ſubjects, the larger ſums they ſhould extort, for a promiſe to be gone. Thus the king was compelled to take that method at laſt, to which he ſhould have had recourſe at firſt, *viz.* raiſing an army and fitting out a fleet. And now, when he had done this, his general betrayed him; whereby the *Danes* for that time eſcaped, though a little after they returned, and were defeated *. Theſe, however, were but ſlight miſchiefs, to thoſe which followed; for, when it is once known, that a kingdom is weakly governed, new enemies will daily riſe. In 993, came *Unlaff*, a famous pyrate, with a fleet of ninety-three ſhips, to *Stanes*, and having waſted the country on both ſides the *Thames*, they went down

* A. D. 978 [w] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 981. [x] Ibid. 991. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. [y] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 992.

down the river again, and committed new outrages on the coaſt of *Kent*. The king ſent an army to oppoſe them, which they beat, and killed the general who commanded it. Afterwards, they landed in the mouth of the *Humber*, and committed new devaſtations. The next year, *Anlaff*, duke of *Norway*, came before *London*, with a fleet of ninety-four ſail, and endeavoured to burn it; but the citizens defended themſelves ſo well, that, at length, he was forced to deſiſt; then, marching into *Kent* and *Hampſhire*, he compelled the country people to furniſh horſes for his army; which put it in their power to commit ſuch horrid devaſtations, that the king, being unable to protect his ſubjects, had recourſe to a compoſition; and, having ſent commiſſioners to treat with *Anlaff*, it was agreed to give him ſixteen thouſand pounds, on condition that he ſhould never again ſet foot in *England:* and, which was rare amongſt men of his profeſſion, he religiouſly kept his word. In 997, a great fleet of ſtrangers entered the mouth of the *Severn*; ſpoiled all the adjacent countries with fire and ſword, and afterwards deſtroyed *Cornwall*, and *Devonſhire*; and, having collected an immenſe booty, carried it off to their ſhips. The next year they committed the like outrages in *Dorſetſhire*; where an army was ſent to oppoſe them; which did little. In 999, they came into the *Thames*, and, marching through *Kent*, the king met them at *Canterbury*, with his forces, ſo that a battle enſued; wherein, through ſome ill management, the king was defeated with great loſs; this loſs ſeems to have rouſed the nobility: for, immediately thereupon, it was determined, in a great council, to raiſe a numerous army, and to fit out a ſtrong fleet; which was accordingly done: but the old management continuing, theſe mighty preparations, ſays my author, ended, in nothing more than exhauſting the purſes,

and breaking the ſpirits of the people; whereby their enemies were encouraged to trample on them more and more. The next year, the fleet were hindered from acting all the ſummer, by contrary winds, to the great loſs and diſſatisfaction of the people. In 1001, new diſorders of the ſame kind happened; and, one of the king's admirals deſerting with a great part of the fleet, he was conſtrained again to think of treating, which accordingly he did, and purchaſed peace for twenty-four thouſand pounds: and yet, the very next year, he found himſelf ſo ſtreightned, that he had no other way of ſetting his people at liberty, than by a general maſſacre of the *Danes*, throughout *England*. This, however, proved but a temporary as well as barbarous expedient; for, in a few years, they were in as bad a condition as ever; inſomuch, that through the fury of the *Danes*, and the treachery of his nobility, the king was able to do nothing, but oppreſs his ſubjects, by raiſing vaſt ſums, to be given to their enemies; for, in 1007, the *Danes* had thirty thouſand pounds at once [z].

THESE oppreſſions convinced all the honeſt, and loyal part of the nation, of the neceſſity of arming themſelves, and of exerting their utmoſt force to rid them of theſe barbarous gueſts. In order thereto, a new, and general tax was laid, for raiſing and ſupporting a fleet and army. According to this ſcheme, every three hundred and ten hides of land were to find a ſtout ſhip; and every eight hides a coat of mail, and helmet; by which a great force indeed was raiſed; and yet, through treachery, however, had little effect [a]. It is plain, that this tax, or ſubſidy, was impoſed

[z] Chron. Sax. p. 127,—136. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Henr. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. 5. Alured Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. p. 114. [a] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1008.

ſed with judgment, and by common conſent; it grew, therefore, thenceforward, an annual charge upon the people; and is that tax we ſo often meet with, in ancient writers, under the name of *Danegeld*; and from which *Edward*, the Confeſſor, is ſaid to have freed his ſubjects. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh this ſubſidy, raiſed upon the *Engliſh* nation, from the money occaſionally paid to the *Danes*; though they both go under the ſame denomination. The firſt was raiſed at ſuch times, and in ſuch proportions, as neceſſity required; and was, properly enough, called *Danegeld*; as it was given to pacify thoſe invaders. The ſecond was, a regular, ſettled impoſition, not much unlike our land-tax; and was properly called, in the *Saxon* tongue, *Heregyld*, i. e. *Soldier's Money*; and received the name of *Danegeld*; becauſe it was originally given to raiſe a force to fight the *Danes*. It muſt have amounted to a vaſt ſum in thoſe days; ſince the *Saxon* chronicle informs us, that by it, when firſt impoſed, there was a prodigious fleet ſet on foot, ſuch a one as, till then, had not been ſeen: now, if we take this in a very limited ſenſe, and allow it to ſignify not a greater fleet than *Edgar's*, but ſuperior to any of his ſtationary ſquadrons; even this would be a very great thing [b]. The conſequence of clearing this point, will appear in the ſucceeding part of the work: in the mean time, let it be obſerved, that the nation ſubmitted to this grievous tax, in order to maintain a naval force, ſufficient to have preſerved the dominion of the ſea; which, queſtionleſs, might have been effected, had the money they gave been faithfully applied. But ſuch were the delays, ſuch the diſorder in all their military preparations,

[b] Selden. Mare Clauſum. lib. ii. c. 11.

tions, that the people were fleeced, the ſervice neglected, and the unfortunate king *Ethelred*, who, for any thing that appears in hiſtory, was a very brave, well-meaning prince; acquired the ſurname, or rather was ſtigmatized with the opprobrious nickname of *The Unready*. This is a diſagreeable ſubject; which nothing but the love of truth, and the deſire of preventing ſuch miſchiefs, by fairly expoſing their cauſes, could have prevailed upon me to have dwelt on ſo long. It was my duty, as an hiſtorian; and, how unwillingly ſoever, I have performed it.

It would, however, be to no purpoſe to ſwell this work, with a long detail of the misfortunes which befel this prince, and his ſon, the valiant *Edmund*, who for his many hardy acts in the ſervice of his country, was ſurnamed *Ironſides*; ſince theſe are fully related in all our hiſtories: and indeed, there is great reaſon to ſuſpect, that the ſtories we meet with therein, are rather amplified than abridged. Two things, however, deſerve the readers notice in this great revolution. The firſt, that, after once the ſpirits of the people had been ſunk, by raiſing on them a great ſum of money to purchaſe peace, they never afterwards could be revived; but things daily declined, and the chief perſons in the realm ſought to ſecure an intereſt in the conqueror, by betraying thoſe whom they ought to have defended; ſo that the reduction of *England* was not ſo much owing to the number and force of the enemy, though theſe were very great, as to the treachery of the few, the dejection of the many, and the diſputes of both among themſelves; their naval force, even when they were loweſt, being more than ſufficient to have defended their coaſts, had it been properly conducted. But being ſometimes betrayed by their admirals, at others diſtreſſed for

want

want of provisions, every little accident discouraged them, and any considerable loss disheartened them quite. The conquest of such men could not be hard. The second observation I have to make is this; that no sooner *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, found himself superior at sea, than he set up a title to the kingdom; which sufficiently shews, that this island is never longer safe, than while it is the first maritime power: whence the importance of our navy is made too manifest to be denied, and by which we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our constitution, so both must be defended by our fleets.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of the DANES, *from the peaceable settlement of* CANUTUS *on the throne, to the restoration of the* SAXON *line; and from thence to the death of king* HAROLD: *containing the space of about forty-eight years.*

THE writers of our ancient history, being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, *Danes*; because the first who troubled the *Saxons* in this way, were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them *Normans*; which seems to be a contraction of northern men. Their practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others,

others, though it paſſed among themſelves for an honourable way of making war. The northern nations were always extremely populous; and, when they found themſelves crouded, their cuſtom was to equip a ſquadron of ſhips, on board of which went ſome of their chiefs, followed by a body of ſuch men, as were willing to run their fortunes. At this time they were Pagans; and it muſt be owned, the ſtructure of their religion was very favourable to theſe ſort of enterprizes, repreſenting them rather as effects of heroiſm, than as acts of robbery. In proceſs of time, as they grew more civilized; they began to change their notions, and affected ſettlements, wherever they found themſelves ſtrong enough to make them. It is not our buſineſs to enter deeply into their hiſtory, ſince it is evident enough, that they attained their dominion here by their power at ſea, which is the only thing that brings them under our notice. But, if it were, there has been lately publiſhed at *Copenhagen*, a very compleat hiſtory of the acts of the *Danes* in foreign countries, particularly in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; all of which they long haraſſed, made ſettlements in all, and were expelled from them all, through their making an ill uſe of their power [c].

WHEN *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, invaded this country, about the year 1013, it was in revenge of the death of his countrymen; and there were, at that Time, ſo many great men here of *Daniſh* extraction, and the reſt were

[c] The title of this curious book runs thus, Geſta & Veſtigia Danorum extra Daniam; præcipue in Oriente, Italia, Hiſpania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Belgio, Germania & Sclavonia. Maximam partem ipſis Scriptorum, non Exoticorum minus, quam Domeſticorum, verbis adumbrata. Haſniæ 1741.

were ſo much diſaffected to their natural prince, that the foreign invader ſoon found encouragement to ſet up a title by election, as is, though ſomewhat obſcurely, intimated by ſome of our hiſtorians; but plainly and fully aſſerted by the *Daniſh* writers. Indeed, the defection at that time was ſo general, that *Ethelred* abandoned his kingdom, and retired into *Normandy*; and, if *Swain* had lived, it is doubtful, whether he might not have kept the poſſeſſion. But, he dying in the beginning of the next year, the *Danes* in *England* declared for *Canutus* his ſon, and the *Saxons* recalled king *Ethelred* [d]. However, after the death of the laſt mentioned prince, *Canutus* had a ſtrong party, who adhered to him, eſpecially among the clergy; ſo that, at length, king *Edmund Ironſide*, by the perſuaſion of one *Eadric*, who had betrayed his father during his whole reign, entered into a treaty with *Canutus*, whereby it was agreed, that they ſhould reign jointly: after which king *Edmund* did not live long, and ſo the whole fell to *Canutus* by ſurvivorſhip. Some of our authors indeed write, that *Edmund* was murdered by the contrivance of *Eadric*; but for this there ſeems to be no ſolid foundation. The *Saxon* annals ſay plainly, that he deceaſed on the feaſt of St. *Andrew*, in the year 1016, and, that he was buried with his grandfather king *Edgar*, at *Glaſtonbury* [e].

* *CANUTUS* aſcended the throne by the general conſent of the nation, and, in the ſecond year of his reign, raiſed an extraordinary ſubſidy, or *Danegeld*, in order to pay off his fleet. This amounted to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds for the reſt of the kingdom, and eleven thouſand

[d] Chron. Saxon. p. 144, 145. [e] Ibid. A. D. 1016.
* A. D. 1017.

thouſand pounds for the city of *London*: after which he ſent back his fleet and forces to *Denmark*, excepting forty ſhips which he kept to guard the coaſt. He was a very wiſe and brave prince, and, from the time he aſſumed the crown, did all that was in his power to conciliate the affection of his new ſubjects; which he ſo happily effected, that they ſerved him faithfully in his wars, for the recovery of ſome part of his foreign dominions, which were loſt during his ſtay here. Thus, in 1027, he ſailed with a fleet of fifty ſhips with *Engliſh* forces on board into *Norway*, out of which having driven *Olaf*, who had ſet himſelf up for king, he the next year returned into *England*. Two years after, he invaded *Scotland* both by land and ſea, and obliged that king to ſubmit to his terms [r], and, throughout his whole reign, this prince carried his prerogative in naval affairs as high as, or rather higher than, any of his predeceſſors, as the learned Mr. *Selden* juſtly obſerves, and very fully proves from records and hiſtory [s]. Indeed it was very eaſy for him ſo to do, being king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as well as *England*.

He intended to have made his ſon *Hardiknute*, whom he had by *Emma*, the widow of his predeceſſor *Ethelred*, the heir of his kingdoms; but, he being in *Denmark* at the time of his deceaſe, his eldeſt ſon *Harold* * ſur-named, from his ſwiftneſs, *Harefoot*, found means to raiſe a party amongſt the nobility, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom. Some writers tell us, that his brother *Hardiknute* prepared a great fleet with an intent to have invaded his dominions;

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[r] Pontan. hiſt. Dan. lib. v. Guliel. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 11. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. Ran. Higden. in Polychron. Chron. Saxon. p. 150—154. [s] Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 12. * A. D. 1336.

dominions; but, as to this, the *Saxon* chronicle is silent; nor is there any thing memorable recorded in his reign. It is said, that he raised the *Danegeld*, or subsidy, for the maintenance of sixteen ships, which was, it seems, the stated tax in the latter part of his father's reign; and, from what follows, it will appear, that this was a very reasonable imposition: but then it must be considered, that, in the days of king *Canutus*, his *English* subjects had nothing to fear; and, from this circumstance it is probable, that the case was the same under *Harold* [h]. He died after a reign of little more than four years, and was succeeded by his brother *Hardiknute* *, who coming with a large fleet to take possession of the kingdom, he that very year raised the *Danegeld* to sixty-two ships. The following year he levied twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds, and fixed the subsidy for the future, at thirty-two ships. His uncle *Swain* being in danger of losing the kingdom of *Norway*, he sent a fleet from *England* to his assistance; which did not, however, answer the end he proposed: and, a little after, he died suddenly at a wedding, and with him ended the dominion of the *Danes* in *England*, in less than twenty-eight years after the coming of *Canutus* to the crown [i].

EDWARD the confessor, the son of king *Ethelbert* and queen *Emma*, succeeded his half-brother *Hardiknute* †, and proved a very great prince in the opinion of the monks, and a very weak one in the sentiments of better judges. In the beginning of his reign, he kept up a fleet of thirty-five sail; but, afterwards falling out with the earl

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[h] Chron. Saxon. p. 154, 155. * A. D. 1039. [i] Ibid. p. 155, 156. † A. D. 1041.

earl *Godwin* and his ſons, their quarrels threw the whole kingdom into diſtraction; inſomuch, that in the year 1046, a pyratical ſquadron, conſiſting of no more than twenty-five ſhips, commanded by *Lothen*, and *Yrling*, came to *Sandwich*, where they landed the forces on board them, who immediately ſpoiled all the adjacent county, and carried off the prey they took to their ſhips. Afterwards, they retired to the iſland of *Thanet*, intending from thence to have plundered the coaſt at their leiſure; but, by this time, the militia roſe, and not only prevented them from landing, but ſtreightned them ſo much where they were, that with great difficulty they eſcaped. Then, falling on the coaſts of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, they committed the ſame outrages there; and, at laſt, ſailed away to *Flanders*, with the wealth they had got, without meeting with any interruption from the king's ſhips. The next year the king was himſelf at ſea with a fleet, and was able to do little; earl *Godwin* and his ſons, having almoſt all the power, while the king had an empty title, with which he was little contented. *Swain*, earl *Godwin*'s eldeſt ſon, falling out with his family, as well as the king, committed great outrages on all the coaſt. His father too, being diſobliged, had recourſe to a naval armament, to oppoſe which, the king fitted out a fleet of fifty ſail; but, whether it was through the intrigues of the earl, or the weak management of the king, ſo it fell out, that, after all theſe preparations, a treaty enſued, in conſequence of which, the earl entered once more the king's favour, and (with his ſons) was declared the king's beſt ſubject. Such was the doctrine of thoſe times! after the death of this great nobleman, his ſons *Harold*, and *Toſtigo*, ſucceeded him in his dignities, and uſed them rather for their own conveniency, than with any reſpect to

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the royal authority. It muſt, however, be owned, that they reduced the *Britons*, who had taken up arms under their king *Griffith*, who was killed in the action: yet *Toſtigo* made ſo bad a governor in *Northumberland*, where the king had placed him, that the people expelled him; nor could he be reſtored, though his brother *Harold* was ſent with an army for that purpoſe: which ſo diſguſted him, that he ſailed with a ſquadron of ſhips into *Flanders*; where, like his eldeſt brother *Swain*, he turned pyrate, and began to think of pillaging, by ſea, that country, the inhabitants of which would not ſuffer him to plunder them on land. In the midſt of theſe confuſions, king *Edward* died [a], as weakly and irreſolutely as he lived, without ſecuring the ſucceſſion to *Edgar Atheling*, his intended heir, and who had indeed a better title than himſelf; which threw the nation into great confuſion, and gave *Harold*, the ſon of earl *Godwin*, an opportunity of ſeizing the crown, to which he had no title at all [b]. An act equally fatal to himſelf, and to the people, ſince it occaſioned the *Norman* invaſion, and the abſolute excluſion of the *Saxon* line, the monarchs of which had deſerved ſo well of their country, by making good laws, encouraging arts, and defending both by their arms. But, before we proceed to this revolution, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the character of *Harold*, as well as of his adminiſtration; for though he was a very ambitious, and conſequently a very bad man, yet he wanted not ſome qualities that were truly worthy of a prince.

[a] A. D. 1066 [b] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 13. Henr. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vi. p. 365. Roger. Hoved. in Annal. p. 439. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. p. 154,—171.

THE principal perſons about king *Edward* at his death were ſuch as had been of earl *Godwin*'s faction, and therefore countenanced a report ſpread by *Harold*, that the king had appointed him his ſucceſſor, which we find in the *Saxon* chronicle [l]; and yet, in that very book, there are many things which are inconſiſtent with this account; ſuch as the owning that the king ſent for his couſin *Edward*, the father of *Edgar Atheling* [m], and, that after the death of *Harold*, *Edgar* ſhould have been king [n], though his right was no way helped by that circumſtance; but ſtood juſt as it did before, at the time of king *Edward*'s death. Such as ſay, that *Harold* took the crown, as being more fit to wear it than an unexperienced boy, like *Edgar*, ſeem to ſpeak the truth [o]. *Harold* had all the qualities neceſſary to have rendered him popular in an elective kingdom. He was of a great family, equally allied to the *Saxons* and *Danes*, very brave in his perſon, and well verſed in the art of war; but, above all, jealous of the honour of the nation, and very deſirous of maintaining his independency on land and ſea [p]. He had, however, great difficulties to ſtruggle with. A great part of the nation were diſſatisfied with his title, and paid him an unwilling obedience. *William* duke of *Normandy*, laid claim to his crown, and began to raiſe an army to ſupport that claim. Add to this, that his brother *Teſtigo*, who had quarrelled with the late king, and with his own father, appeared on the coaſts of *Yorkſhire* and *Northumberland*, with

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[l] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. [m] Ibid. p. 169. [n] Ibid. p. 173. [o] Rog. Hoved. hiſt. lib. vi. p. 367. Ingulph. hiſt. apud ſcript. poſt Bedam, p. 900. [p] Roger. Hoved. Annal. prior. p. 447. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. ult. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. p. 122.

with a fleet of fifty ſail. Earl *Edwin* encountered him on his landing, defeated his army, and afterwards deſtroyed a great part of his fleet; ſo that, with no more than twelve ſhips he eſcaped to *Scotland* [1].

ON the firſt news of his brother's invaſion, *Harold* prepared to march northwards, in order to prevent, if poſſible the fatal conſequences of this man's malice, whom he knew to have both courage and ability, conſiderable intereſt at home, and potent allies abroad: nor did he deſiſt from his deſign on the news of the check he had received by his late defeat, knowing that his reſtleſs temper would not ſuffer him to be long before he endeavoured to revenge this affront. Indeed, he found an opportunity ſooner than he could have expected; for he was ſcarce arrived in *Scotland*, before he heard of a new pretender to the crown which his brother wore. This was *Harald Harfagar*, that is, *Fair-haired*, king of *Norway*, who ſet up a title by deſcent, and, to ſupport it, put to ſea with a fleet of three hundred ſail, and a numerous army on board. With him *Toſtig* joined, and both, ſailing up the *Humber*, landed their forces, and began to direct their march towards *York*. The two great earls, *Edward* and *Morker*, inſtantly aſſembled all the forces they could raiſe, in order to to oppoſe them. A battel quickly enſued, in which thoſe earls were totally routed, and, in conſequence whereof, the king of *Norway* poſſeſſed himſelf of *York*. King *Harold*, no way diſcouraged at this ill news, ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and in the mean time marched in perſon againſt the enemy, who lay in an intrenched camp,

[1] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Roger Hoved. p. 447. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vi.

which they conceived to be impregnable. But the king having firſt forced *Stanford-Bridge*, ever ſince ſtiled *Battel-Bridge*, attacked them with ſuch vigour, that, after a long and bloody diſpute, he forced their intrenchments, killed both *Harold Harfager* and *Toſtigo* upon the ſpot; and his admirals at ſea having like ſucceſs in beating the *Norweigian* fleet, *Olaf* the ſon of *Harold Harfager*, was glad to capitulate, and to agree to embark the ſcattered remains of his army on board twenty veſſels, and to give up all the vaſt ſpoil they had taken, with the reſt of his father's navy, to the conqueror, which agreement or capitulation was preſently put in execution *.

THIS was one of the greateſt victories that we find recorded by our hiſtorians; for, in the beginning of this expedition, the king of *Denmark* had conquer'd the *Orkneys*: and, indeed, conſidering the force with which he invaded it, there was no ſmall probability of his reducing *England*. By this defeat, the king entirely fruſtrated that deſign, and, beſides ridding himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy, acquired a vaſt treaſure, and greatly augmented his fleet; but, as ſucceſs generally ſhews a man in the trueſt point of light, ſo, the king on this occaſion, diſcovered ſome ill qualities which he had hitherto concealed; for, inſtead of dividing the rich booty he had taken, or ſo much as a part of it, amongſt his army, he laid hands upon the whole; which greatly weakened their affection to him, and made his ſoldiers leſs willing to hazard their lives in the ſervice of ſo hard a maſter. On the other hand, the duke of *Normandy* had been labouring, by a variety

* Chron. Saxon. p. 182. Guliel. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. p. 94. Roger. Hoveden, p. 448. Ingulph. hiſt. p. 900.

variety of methods, to draw together such an army, and such a fleet, as might enable him to prosecute the title he had set up to the *English* crown; which, at last, by dint of mighty promises to foreigners, as well as his own subjects, he accomplished. His forces consisting of *Normans*, *Flemings*, *Frenchmen*, and *Bretons*, he imbarked on board a prodigious number of ships, few of which were of any great force, though all fit enough for transports. Upon the 28th of *September* 1066, he landed safely at *Pevensey* in *Sussex*; and no sooner saw his troops on shore, than he burned his useless fleet, which he knew was no way able to engage that of the *English*: and having done this, and raised a strong fortification, he began to march farther into the country *. *Harold* had the news of this expedition quickly transmitted to him in the north, whence he marched with great diligence with his forces, flushed indeed with their late victory; but, by so rude a service, much diminished in their numbers, their spirits also abated by discontent. The king, however, taking council from the present situation of his affairs, behaved towards them more graciously than he had lately done; and, by sending for the nobility, and representing to them the danger to which themselves and their country, as well as himself and his title, were exposed, gained considerable recruits: so that, by the time he arrived at *London*, his army was again become very considerable; only his soldiers stood in need of refreshment. But *Harold*, fearing the ill effects of delays, and rejecting the propositions made him by an embassador, sent from duke *William* to meet him at *London*, continued to move on towards *Sussex*, in order to

* Chroniques de Normandie Ingulph. hist. Ord. Vital, &c.

determine the fate of the kingdom, by a decisive battel; notwithstanding his brother *Gritbus* used many prudent arguments to dissuade him, advising him to entrust the army to his care, and to remain at *London*, in order to take proper measures, in case things went not so well as they wished.

On the 13th of *October*, the king arrived near *Hastings*, where the enemy lay encamped; and, though some propolals of peace were again made him, he remained firm to his first opinion of trusting the decision of all to the sword. The next day, being *Saturday*, he disposed his forces in order of battel, giving the van to the *Kentish* troops, and reserving the *Londoners* for the centre, where he fought in person with his two brothers. The duke of *Normandy*, on his side, did all that could be expected from a great captain, and one inured to arms from his very youth. The contest was long and bloody, suitable to the value of the prize which was to be the reward of the victor. But the *Normans*, making use of long bows, as yet not well known to the *English*, had thereby a great advantage, which turned the fortune of the day, and gave them a victory every way compleat. King *Harold* drawing the choicest of his troops about his royal standard, fought it out bravely to the last, falling by a shot he received under the left eye, which pierced to his brain. With him fell his brothers *Gritbus* and *Leofrick*, and of private men 67,974. We need not wonder, that this engagement alone secured the kingdom to duke *William*; especially, if we reflect on the hard-fought battel in *Yorkshire* but a few months before: for two such actions might well exhaust the strength of a nation, almost continually harrassed for some hundred years before by the

Danes.

Danes[t]. Yet the *Saxons*, if they had been well-united, might have had, at leaſt another ſtruggle, but their inteſtine factions contributed as much to their ruin, as the force of the invader. For, one part of the nation adhering to *Edgar Atheling*, the undoubted heir of the crown, and another inclining to eſpouſe the party of the great earls *Edwin* and *Morker*, this diviſion diſabled both. Thus ended that monarchy which, from the time of *Hengiſt*, had endured about ſix hundred years; and, as it began through perſonal valour, ſo the ſame ſpirit was preſerved even in its termination; for, as a learned writer of thoſe times informs us, the laſt king *Harold* was a man in gentleneſs of nature equalled by few, in martial virtue ſurpaſſed by none, having moſt of thoſe great qualities which render princes glorious, and who, if the event had correſponded with probability, ſeemed born to repair the decayed ſtate of his country[u]. He left behind him four ſons. It is very remarkable, that three of theſe, *Godwin*, *Edmund*, and *Magnus*, had intereſt enough after the death of their father, to carry off the greateſt part of his fleet; which enabled them to make many attempts, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, againſt the power of the *Normans*: but, proving always unſucceſsful, they at length retired to *Denmark*, where they were kindly received, and where, tormented by a quick ſenſe of their misfortunes, they languiſhed out the remainder of their lives. I ſhould not have taken notice of this circumſtance, but that it ſerves to explain the ſucceeding part of our hiſtory, and ſhews

[t] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. iii. Henr. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. vi. Roger. Hoveden. p. 448. Ingulph. hiſt. p. 900, 901. [u] Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1066.

how the *Norman* power at ſea came to be ſo low, for a conſiderable ſpace after the conqueſt; as well as why the northern princes were ſo ready to give aſſiſtance to ſuch as undertook to diſturb this new poſſeſſor of the *Engliſh* crown: in which ſcheme we ſhall find perſons, who had very different intereſts, concurred, upon the old maxim in politics, that, in acting againſt a common enemy, the principles of particular parties may and ought to be ſuſpended[r].

We ought, now, to take a view of the commerce of the *Saxons*, and to enquire into the uſe they made of that dominion of the ſea, to which they ſet up ſo loud a pretence. It ſo happens, indeed, that we have in this reſpect but very indifferent materials as to direct facts. But whoever will conſider what kind of men the writers of thoſe times were, and how little likely they were to underſtand traffick, he will not ſo readily miſconſtruct their ſilence, as ſome critical writers have done: by which I mean, he will not conclude, from thence, that the *Saxons* had little or no foreign trade; ſince, if they had ever ſo much, monks and eccleſiaſtics were not like to be acquainted with it. However, it may be truly aſſerted, that the trade of the *Saxons* was very conſiderable before the *Norman* conqueſt, perhaps more conſiderable than for ſome time afterwards; and that this is not either a bold aſſertion, or a groundleſs conjecture, we ſhall be able to make out by a variety of arguments, which, for the honour of our country, deſerve to be duly conſidered.

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[r] Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Gul. Malmeſb. Huntingdon. Hoveden &c.

In the first place, then, let us observe, that the correspondence between our princes, and those of the continent, is one good argument in favour of the nation's commerce; for it cannot be believed, that the greatest princes of *Europe*, would either enter into treaties with obscure and barbarous nations, bestow their daughters on the princes of such people, or receive from them their daughters to be partners in their beds and thrones. Yet we see, that *Charles* the Great of *France* entered into an alliance with king *Offa*, as he also did with the king of *Scots*; and, as to marriages, *Ethelwolf* the father of king *Alfred*, married the daughter of the emperor *Charles the Bald*; king *Ethelred* married *Emma*, daughter to the duke of *Normandy*; and as to the princesses of *England*, they were married all over *Europe*, to the most illustrious sovereigns: nay, even in their distress, when the sons of *Edmund Ironside* fled abroad for protection, one married the emperor's daughter, the other the daughter of the king of *Hungary*. Now, it is impossible for us to conceive, how the worth and quality of such persons should be known in these distant places, if there had not been an extensive commerce between the subjects of the *English* kings, and those of these princes. Add to this, that *Asserius Menevensis* informs us, that king *Alfred*'s court was constantly crowded with persons of distinction; and, that he was extremely careful in procuring the best artists of all kinds, from different parts. Again, the public, and private buildings of the *Saxons*, demonstrate, that they were not either a rude, or unsociable people; but rather the contrary: since they were exceedingly elegant, for the time in which they were raised; and we know, by experience, that this kind of taste is the pure effect of extensive commerce. We may likewise observe,

ſerve, that the very claiming the ſovereignty of the ſea, is a plain indication of our driving a great trade upon it; ſince thoſe only deſire this dignity, who know the importance of it; and, as our claims in this reſpect, are elder, and more explicit than thoſe of any other *European* nation, we muſt conclude, that the value of this right was earlier underſtood here, than elſewhere. Theſe are general reaſons only: I will now offer ſome, that are more particular.

WE had greater opportunities, of underſtanding naval affairs in this iſland, than perhaps any other nation ever had; for, before the *Roman* invaſion, the *Britons* had ſome ſkill in navigation, and had fitted out conſiderable fleets: they, afterwards, improved in this, as in all other arts, by adding the *Latin* learning to their own; whence we find them, under *Carauſius*, *Maximus*, and *Conſtantine*, able to bear up againſt all the maritime force of the *Roman* empire. The *Saxons* were not deſtitute of ſkill in naval affairs, before their arrival here; for we read, that they diſtinguiſhed time, by the ebbing and flowing of tides [x]; a kind of knowledge, which, notwithſtanding all the boaſts of the *Greeks*, *Alexander*'s ſeamen had not acquired, even when he made his *Indian* expedition [y]; and in which it appears, neither *Ceſar*, or any of his ſoldiers, were well verſed at the time of his invading this iſland [z]. It was therefore highly natural, when theſe nations were in ſome meaſure mixed together; and, by degrees alſo, were blended with the *Danes*: I ſay, it was highly natu-

[x] Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Ol. Worm. in Faſtis Danicis. lib. i. cap. 2. [y] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Mag. lib. xi. [z] De Bello Gallico. lib. v.

ral for them, to push their genius for maritime affairs, as far as it would go. And this leads me to another argument; which, is drawn from the vast number of ships, that it is apparent, we had at all times, from the fleets fitted out by the *Roman* governors, and by the *Saxon* princes, especially *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Ethelred*: since navies cannot be built in a season or two; or, if they could, would prove of little use in a country destitute of seamen. Lastly, our coin is a proof of our commerce. There were under the *Saxon* kings, variety of mints, no less than seven in *London*; and the laws relating to coinage are very numerous. Now, since silver was never a commodity of our own, it follows, that this coinage, must have arisen from the profits, or, to use a modern phrase, from the balance of trade, in our favour. I presume, I may add to this, a law made by king *Edgar*, for reducing all weights, measures, *&c.* to one standard. Now, this was to remedy an inconvenience, that must have crept in, by trading with different nations; and, so introducing their measures: and the scope of the law on the other hand, proves, that the legislature in those days, had a just respect to commerce; and was inclined to do any thing which might facilitate it; all which, taken together, in my opinion, doth abundantly make good my assertion; and demonstrates, as far as the brevity of this design will permit, the commercial genius of our ancestors, the *Saxons*, to whom we stand indebted for the chief prerogatives of our crown, I mean, in comparison with the other powers of *Europe*; and that generous spirit of freedom, which is the soul of our excellent constitution, and which the princes of the *Norman* line, endeavoured, but in vain, to extinguish.

SINCE

SINCE the publiſhing the firſt edition of this work, I have heard ſome perſons of good ſenſe and great judgment complain, that in ſome places, I have ſtudied brevity too much, and that particularly, they would be glad to ſee this point of the *Saxon* navigation and commerce better explained; not that they at all doubt the truth of what I have advanced upon the credit of our moſt learned and beſt hiſtorians, but that being pleaſed with the hints given them upon theſe ſubjects, they are inclined to ſee them more largely handled, and for the ſake of ſuch perſons, I ſhall take the liberty of adding a few remarks, which, till I knew that it was acceptable to my readers, I judged it a kind of preſumption in me to make.

THE veſſels built by king *Alfred* for reſiſting the *Danes*, and which were ſo very ſerviceable in that reſpect, appearing to be a very ſingular and material point, ſome have wiſhed that I had more plainly deſcribed them, which I would moſt certainly have done, if it had been in my power. Thoſe veſſels were built, not only by the direction of the king, but in a new manner which was of his own invention; and the writers who have preſerved an account of them, tho' they are certainly competent Witneſſes as to the fact, yet were they very far from being proper judges of the manner. They can tell us what the king did, and what were the effects of his doings, but how, or upon what principles he conſtructed theſe new invented ſhips of his, was out of their way to enquire, and conſequently what they could not be expected to declare. This being ſo, it would be a thing prepoſterous to pretend to lay it down as a fact that king *Alfred*'s new ſhips were built in this manner, or in that, all that I meant to ſuggeſt, was, that the king built theſe ſhips longer than uſual, and in

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ſuch a proportion, as made them at once ſtronger and ſwifter, than any with which that age were acquainted.

THE candid and ingenious reader will readily allow, that we had good reaſon to commend the ſuperior ſkill of the king, who made that a *Science*, which to others was but a *Trade*. There were, no doubt, in that age, abundance of ſhipwrights, who knew how to put veſſels together, ſo as to make them ſound and tight, and good ſailors too, as things went at that time of the day. Yet it does not appear, that the king aſked their advice, but on the contrary, he directed their labours, and commanded that ſhips ſhould be built of a new and very different make, from thoſe that were then in uſe. He was well acquainted with the *Daniſh* ſhips, and ſaw, that tho' they were very convenient for tranſporting troops, yet that very circumſtance might be turned to their diſadvantage, by employing againſt them veſſels of a different make, longer, higher, and ſtronger, and of a very different proportion in reſpect to breadth, which is a plain proof, that he had made himſelf maſter of the principles of ſhip-building, and knew how to vary the form in conſtructing veſſels ſo, as to fit them for different uſes and ſervices, which if the knowledge of thoſe times was half ſo groſs as modern writers are willing to repreſent, it was certainly a very great and wonderful diſcovery.

IT is alſo highly probable, that tho' the king gave directions to his ſhip-builders, and perhaps a model of the form in which he would have his new veſſels built, yet he did not acquaint them with the principles upon which he went, or explain to them the reaſons why veſſels built in this new form, were ſwifter, and ſtronger, than thoſe of the enemy; but kept that within his own breaſt, as a great ſecret of ſtate. His naval architects might be, and in all proba-

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bility were, men of as great skill, and as extensive capacities, as any of their times; but then their knowledge was of a very different nature from that of the king: they might be great artists in their way, but they were still mechanics; and tho' they knew how to build what were esteemed the best ships in this part of the world, yet were they far enough from penetrating into the causes of things, or from apprehending clearly the reasons upon which those rules were founded, by which they were guided in their profession, and which experience had gradually introduced.

We have the more likelihood, that this was the true state of the case, from the other circumstance, that the king made great improvements in the art of building ships for traffick. Hence we plainly see, what he contrived, was not the effects of experience, that, is an application of what he had seen, or heard, that others performed to his own affairs; or flowed from a lucky thought which was found to answer upon trial; but arose entirely from his great sagacity, which enabled him to see to the very bottom of this art, and put it in his power to assign the just proportions of vessels destined for any purposes whatever, as his ship-wrights were capable of building, and equipping vessels of any dimensions, provided they had the scheme of such vessels given them, in case they were of a new invention. These trading vessels, were, without doubt, of quite another form, than those warlike gallies fitted out against the *Danes*, and consequently far less expensive; for broad, large, and roomy vessels, such as are fit for carrying most sorts of merchandise, and more especially bulky, and coarse goods, are, in every respect, far less expensive than vessels built for strength and swiftness.

I SHALL

I SHALL be extreamly well pleased if these additional thoughts upon so important a point of history give the satisfaction desired, which I hope it will, more especially if it be considered, that I propose to treat these points as an historian, and am therefore concerned to state facts clearly, and from good authorities, not to write dissertations upon such subjects as may be fairly presumed to lie equally out of the reach of my own, and the peruser's curiosity. Whatever *Alfred*'s skill in naval architecture might be, there is very little room to doubt, that the practical part of it continued long after his decease, and proved no inconsiderable cause of the maritime force of his successors. All this time however, the *Danes* were exercising themselves in naval expeditions, and as their strength and courage grew; so by the introduction of luxury, and its perpetual companion, civil dissentions, the power and publick spirit of the *Saxons* declined.

IT may be however remarked in their favour, exclusive of what has been before said upon that subject, that they certainly cultivated the arts of peace and commerce, with equal industry and success. All that part of this island under their dominion, was thoroughly peopled, and full of great towns, adorned according to the mode of those times, with fair churches and great monasteries, which were at once testimonies of the piety and wealth of that nation. Their ecclesiastics and their nobility frequently travelled into foreign regions, and brought from thence rarities of all sorts, to enrich their own country, the flourishing condition of which was what principally allured the *Danes*, who had the same appetite for riches, though they took a different method of procuring them, and spoiled by force of arms such as were grown opulent, through the long continuance of peace.

We must likewise observe, that the incorporations of cities and boroughs, was the work of the *Saxons*, as manifestly appears from the very terms that are still in use, and which are not to be understood or explained, but from a competent knowledge of their language and history. This is at once a clear and a most conspicuous testimony of the true spirit of that government, which, while in its vigour, provided for the safety and prosperity of the people, by securing the liberties and properties, and by encouraging the industry and integrity of all ranks and degrees of men, which was the true reason, that the laws of *Edward the Confessor*, that is, the laws and constitutions of his predecessors, collected and restored by him, were so universally approved and contended for by the *English* nation, as their peculiar blessings and birthrights after the conquest, as will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

But above all, traders, artificers, and manufacturers of every kind, were especially protected and encouraged under the *Saxon* government. They had their respective guilds or societies for regulating and promoting their affairs, and it is very remarkable, that there was no less attention paid to the establishment and extension of these lesser fraternities, calculated to maintain order and justice amongst such as got their living by their labour, than of the larger corporations, which is a truth that all who are acquainted with our records and ancient histories will readily admit; and therefore it would be very unnecessary for us to insist longer upon this topick, tho' to mention it was highly material.

The *Danes*, after the first fury of war was over, and when they came to be united to and incorporated with the

Saxons,

Saxons, began by degrees to embrace their notions, and to viſit foreign nations, as well in a commercial, as in a hoſtile manner; and tho' their hiſtorians are more inclined to preſerve the memory of the latter, than the former, yet there is nothing clearer than this matter of fact, by which the ſubjects of the *Daniſh* monarchs were enabled to pay thoſe prodigious taxes that from time to time were levied upon them, and by which the treaſury of *Canutus* the *Great* was ſo amply ſupplied, that when he took a journey to *Rome*, he made a more magnificent appearance there than any chriſtian prince, who in thoſe ſuperſtitious times had honour'd that capital with his preſence, and is recorded to have ſpent and given away ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as filled all *Europe* with amazement.

BUT altho' the *Danes* ſettled in *England*, departed from the manners of their countrymen, yet thoſe who remained at home, retained in a great meaſure the martial ſpirit of their anceſtors, and held in the higheſt contempt every kind of trade except that of war. We ſhall ſee, however, that notwithſtanding they long kept up a claim to this country, they were never able to recover it; becauſe after a few diſappointments their naval power ſunk, and they were no longer able to equip ſuch numerous fleets as were requiſite for the undertaking ſuch expeditions. I mention this circumſtance here, that the reader may have an opportunity of obſerving, how ſoon a naval force is worn out, when, employed only to ſerve the purpoſes of ambition; and this, notwithſtanding all the care and pains that can be taken to keep up the ſpirits of a nation, and to ſupport an exact diſcipline; for *Canutus* the *Great*, enacted and publiſhed a body of laws for that end, which they would certainly have anſwered, if the thing had

been poſſible in nature. This obſervation will very much confirm what has been before advanced, in reſpect to the great fleets that for the courſe of upwards of a century, were maintained by the *Saxons* for the defence of their coaſts. Theſe were certainly ſupplied with ſeamen from the ſhips employed in commerce, the only effectual and laſting method of maintaining maritime power.

It will not appear any formidable objection to this, if that the *Danes* ſettled in *Normandy* grew ſo ſtrong, as not only to maintain their poſſeſſion of that country, but to attempt and ſucceed in their ſcheme of invading this. For they had in a great degree altered their meaſures, and by the conveniency of their ports, had fallen into a conſiderable ſhare of commerce, as appears both in their hiſtory and laws. It is true, that the old martial ſpirit reigned amongſt their nobility, who ſtill diſdained any other profeſſion than that of arms; yet this did not hinder a great part of their people from betaking themſelves to quite another courſe of life, by which they drew ſuch wealth into that country, as enabled their dukes to live in ſplendor and magnificence, and furniſhed them with the means of making ſuch powerful armaments, as could never have been ſet on foot, but by princes whoſe authority upon ſuch occaſions, could extract out of their ſubjects coffers, thoſe treaſures that by their induſtry they had obtained. The ſpoils derived from military excurſions, and the riches accruing from prædatory expeditions are quickly waſted, and from the inſtability of fortune, ſeldom admit of recruits; but in countries bleſſed with commerce, tho' the madneſs of princes may occaſionally laviſh away great ſums, yet the returns of peace give their ſubjects an opportunity of recovering again, and repairing the breaches that have been made by ſuch miſtakes.

HITHERTO, I have treated things more largely than I propoſed to do in my accounts of the ſubſequent reigns, down to that of *Henry* VII. becauſe this period hath been much neglected; and, from an unwillingneſs to ſearch into the records of antiquity, we have been made to believe, that, before the *Roman* conqueſt, the inhabitants of *Britain*, were an inconſiderable people; which we have ſhewn to be very falſe. But, from the time of *William*, ſurnamed the conqueror, our modern hiſtories are more fruitful; and therefore, we may indulge a greater brevity here. However, we ſhall take notice of every thing that is material, or that may contribute to the reader's having a juſt notion of the ſtate our naval affairs were in, under the reign of our monarchs, reſpectively, as well as of the remarkable expeditions in their times.

CHAP. IV.

The Naval Hiſtory of ENGLAND, *during the reigns of the princes of the* Norman *race, viz.* William, *ſtiled the conqueror*; William Rufus; Henry Beauclerk; *and* Stephen: *containing the ſpace of about eighty-eight years.*

OF all the foreign princes, who in a courſe of ages have aſcended the *Engliſh* throne, *William*, duke of *Normandy*, ſeemed to promiſe the beſt, in regard to the maintainance of the honour and dignity of the crown which he aſſumed. He was in the

prime of his life, if we conſider him as a prince, being about forty-three years of age, when he came hither; had been a ſovereign from his very childhood, and maintained his right, in the dutchy of *Normandy*, againſt the king of *France*, and other troubleſome neighbours, with ſuch conſtancy and courage, as, at length, procured him ſucceſs, and fixed him in the full enjoyment of the dominions left him by his father [a]. He had great opportunities of being acquainted with the *Engliſh*, before his coming hither; by the near relation between king *Edward*, the confeſſor, and his father, duke *Robert*; and the long ſtay that king made in *Normandy*, while the power of the *Danes* ſubſiſted in *England*. This occaſioned a great intercourſe between the *Engliſh* and *Normans*, during the reign of that king; who rendered himſelf ſuſpected to the former, by his extraordinary kindneſs to the latter: which might poſſibly grow from a mixture of fear, as well as love; ſince he had no other ſupport againſt the power of earl *Godwin*. This it was, induced him to invite duke *William* hither, in his life-time; and accordingly he did make him a viſit [b]; and this was undoubtedly, the chief motive to his feeding him with hopes of being his heir. As to the title of king *William*, it is not requiſite, that we ſhould enter into a minute diſcuſſion of it; and therefore, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that he claimed three different ways. Firſt, by donation from king *Edward*; ſecondly, by right of arms; whence, in ſucceeding times, he was ſur-named *The Conqueror*; and, thirdly, by election: to which ſome have added a fourth title, by grant from the pope; though this was

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[a] Oder. Vital. Guliel. Gemetic. Les Chroniques de Normandie.
[b] Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 54.

was no more than an approbation of the firſt. However he came by the crown, he certainly condeſcended to have his right recognized by the people; and promiſed ſolemnly at his coronation, to govern as his *Saxon* predeceſſors had done; though he afterwards did not act quite ſo conformable to his oath, as his ſubjects expected. To ſay the truth, he was of a ſtern and arbitrary diſpoſition; which did not very well agree with the temper of this nation; and from this diſcordancy, between the king's humour and his ſubjects ſentiments, as to their own rights, ſprung the many diſorders which happened during his reign, and the miſeries brought thereby upon the people; of which, we have ample accounts in the hiſtories of thoſe times [c].

He was too wiſe a king, not to diſcern the importance of a naval power; and too high-ſpirited a prince, to ſuffer any of the prerogatives, claimed by his predeceſſors, to be at all prejudiced by his conduct. But, in the beginning of his reign, he found himſelf, as we have before obſerved, under great difficulties in this point. He had, at his coming from *Normandy*, drawn together all the ſhipping that could be had, as appears, by his delaying his expedition for ſome time, for want of veſſels; as alſo, from the number employed, which was not leſs than nine hundred; and all theſe, as we have heard he burned. The greateſt part of the *Engliſh* navy, was carried away by the ſons of *Harold*, and other malecontents, ſo that he could hardly bring together even an inconſiderable fleet; and yet the king reſolved to take ſome care of a matter of ſo great importance, before his return into *Normandy*. With this view, he paſ-

[c] Chronic. Saxon. Ingulph. Hiſtor. Guliel. Malmeſb. Henric. Huntingd. Roger. Hoveden. Eadmer. Alured Beverl. Simeon. Dunelm. Joan. Brompton.

ſed into *Kent*; where the natives, having firſt procured a recognition of their rights, delivered up to him, the caſtle and port of *Dover*, which was what he principally wanted. Here, he placed a ſtrong garriſon; and, having by this time got together ſome ſhips, appointed a ſquadron for a guard of the coaſts; and embarked a part of his army, with the chief perſons in *England*, whom he carried with him, as hoſtages for *Normandy*; intending to return, as he did, with a greater force, to ſecure himſelf againſt any defection of his new ſubjects, as well as from foreign invaſions, with both which he was threatned [q].

In the third year of his reign [*], that ſtorm, which he had foreſeen, burſt upon his dominions; and, under any other prince but himſelf, would, in all probability, have been fatal. Our modern hiſtorians, eſpecially, relate this ſo lamely, that their readers can ſcarce form any juſt idea of the danger the nation was in; which is one reaſon for our giving a detail of it: and beſides this, it is of ſo great conſequence to the ſubject of which we are treating, and ſo fully proves the impoſſibility of keeping *Britain*, without having a ſuperior force at ſea, that it would be inexcuſable in us, either to omit, or to curtail it. Immediately after his return from *Normandy*, the king began to treat the *Engliſh* pretty ſeverely; whereupon, many of the moſt conſiderable perſons retired out of the kingdom; ſome one way, ſome another. The two great earls, *Edwin* and *Morker*, with many others of the nobility, and not a few of the clergy, went into *Scotland*; where *Edgar Atheling*,

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[q] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 1067. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis Reg. Anglor. lib. iii. Henr. Huntingd. Hib. vii. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 900, 901. [*] A. D. 1069.

Atheling, and his family, took ſhelter; and from whence, they very ſoon invaded the north part of *England* [e]. Other lords fled to *Denmark*, to king *Swain* II. who had always kept up a claim to the *Engliſh* crown; and who, therefore, readily yielded credit to their aſſurances, that, if he would but ſend a force ſufficient to give them encouragement, the *Engliſh*, eſpecially in the northern parts, would throw off the *Norman* yoke, and declare for him. He, therefore, equipped a conſiderable fleet; ſome copies of the *Saxon* chronicles ſay, 240; others make them 300 ſail; and ſent them, under the command of his brother-in-law *Oſborn*, his ſons *Harold* and *Canutus*, and ſome of the *Engliſh* fugitives; well provided with all things neceſſary, and with a conſiderable body of forces on board: ſo that nothing leſs than ſubduing the whole kingdom, was the intent of this expedition [f].

FEW undertakings of ſuch conſequence, and wherein ſo many perſons of different intereſts were concerned, had, in the beginning, ſo good ſucceſs, as that of which we are ſpeaking; for the *Daniſh* fleet having favourable winds, and fair weather, came ſafely into the mouth of the *Humber*; and there embarked the forces, about the middle of *Auguſt* 1069, as we are told by *Matthew Paris* [g]. They were immediately joined by *Edgar Etheling*, the earls *Edward* and *Morker*, the famous earl *Waltheof*, and abundance of other perſons of diſtinction, with a great army, compoſed of *Engliſh* and *Scots*; and then moved directly towards *York*, which king *William* had cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified. The governor, whoſe name was *Mallet*, re-

[e] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068. [f] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068. Pontanus. Hiſt. Dan. A. D. 1068. [g] Hiſt. Angl. vol. i. p. 6.

ſolved to make an obſtinate defence. With this view, he ordered part of the ſuburbs to be ſet on fire, that the *Danes* might not lodge in them on their approach; but, through ſome negligence, the fire caught the city, and burnt a great part of it before it could be extinguiſhed; which gave the *Danes* an opportunity of gaining it almoſt without a ſtroke: after which, they attacked the citadel, took it, and put three thouſand *Normans* to the ſword; on this ſucceſs, as the *Daniſh* writers ſay, earl *Waltheof* was left there with a ſtrong garriſon, and the main body marched directly towards *London* [h]. The king, however, advanced to meet them with a conſiderable army, waſting and ſpoiling the northern countries, which he conceived well affected to the enemy, and, as ſome alledge, fought with, and gave a check to the invaders; but our graveſt hiſtorians report the fact quite otherwiſe. They ſay, that, finding his troops much inferior to the enemy, he entered into a private treaty with *Oſborn*, the *Daniſh* general, and offered him an immenſe ſum of money for himſelf, with free leave to plunder the northern coaſts, if he would be content to retire with his forces in the ſpring; which he accordingly accepted: ſo the king ſpoiling one way to revenge the infidelity of his northern ſubjects, and the *Danes* plundering the other, they, in the beginning of the next year, returned to their fleet in the *Humber*, and, embarking their forces, returned home [i]. But *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, being quickly informed, that his hopes were fruſtrated, by the covetouſneſs and treachery of his brother,

[h] Pontan. rer. Danicar. Hiſt. lib. v. Henr. Huntingdon, Hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369 Simeon. Dunelm. A. D. 1069. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1069. Roger de Hoveden. p. 451, 452. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 129. [i] Chron. Saxon. p. 174. Pontan. rerum Dan. Hiſt.

ther, rather than by the force of the *Normans*, he baniſhed him, as he well deſerved [k]. Thus ended an expedition which might have produced another revolution in our affairs, if the king's prudence had not been as great as his courage. The next year, the *Saxon* chronicles tell us, the *Danes* landed again in the *Iſle of Ely*, to which abundance of malecontents had reſorted; but, being able to do little, king *Suain* made a treaty with the king of *England*: but his fleet ſailing homewards, laden with booty, was, a great part of it, forced into *Ireland*, and many of the ſhips, with all their treaſure on board them, foundered at ſea [l]. But as to this, the *Daniſh* writers are ſilent.

ABOUT the ſame time *, the ſons of the late king *Harold* came out of *Ireland*, with a fleet of ſixty-five ſail, and landed in *Somerſetſhire*, where they committed great depradations, until *Ednoth*, who had been an old ſervant of their father's, marched againſt them, beat their forces, and obliged them to retire [m]. They made a ſecond attempt the year following †, with a fleet of ſixty ſail, landed near *Exeter*, plundered and burnt the country; but earl *Brien* raiſing forces, and fighting them twice in one day, forced them again to fly, with the loſs of ſeven hundred men, and ſome of the principal nobility of *Ireland*, which ſo broke the ſpirits of that nation, as to diſcourage them from aſſiſting the *Engliſh* fugitives any more [n]; ſo that the ſons of *Harold*, *Godwin* and *Edmund*, retired into *Denmark*, where they were kindly received, and ſpent the remainder of their days.

THESE

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[k] Adamſ. Bremenſ. Pontan. lib. v. [l] Chron. Saxon, p. 177. * A. D. 1068. [m] Roger. Hoveden. p. 450.
† A. D. 1069. [n] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. iii.

THESE accidents convinced the king of the neceſſity of having a fleet always ready; and, therefore, to this he turned his thoughts, and having collected as many ſhips as he was able, he employed them to hinder ſuccours from coming to the rebels in the *Iſle of Ely*, which gave him an opportunity of entering it by land, and reducing to his obedience, or deſtroying all who had taken ſhelter there *. In the ſeventh year of his reign, he attacked *Scotland* by ſea as well as land, in order to be revenged of king *Malcolm*, who had conſtantly aſſiſted all the diſturbers of his government, and quickly brought him to accept a peace, on the terms he thought fit to preſcribe °. † In the tenth year of his reign it appears, that his affairs were in better order than they had been at any time before. Yet it was not long, before a great conſpiracy was formed in *England*; and the lords concerned in it, invited the *Welch* to enter the kingdom on one ſide, while the *Danes* invaded it on the other. The king was at this time in *Normandy*; but, having juſt intelligence of what paſſed in his abſence, he quickly returned into *England*, ſeized many of the conſpirators, and diſappointed them in their intended riſing. The *Danes*, however, under the command of *Canutus*, the ſon of king *Swain*, came with a fleet of two hundred ſail upon the coaſt, and even entered the mouth of the *Thames*; but, not finding their confederates in the poſture they expected, and perceiving that the king had now a navy, as well as an army, they retired to *Flanders*, without undertaking any thing P.

FOR

* A. D. 1072. ° Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1072. Alured Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. † A. D. 1075. P Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Henr. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369.

FOR nine years after, the king remained quiet, with reſpect to the *Danes*, who were involved in ſo many troubles at home, that they had no leiſure to vex their neighbours. This time the king employed in ſecuring his foreign dominions, againſt the attempts of the king of *France*, in taming the *Welſh*, and in new-modelling affairs in *England*, ſo as to ſuit them to his own intereſt and inclination; as alſo to the raiſing a better force, than hitherto he had employed at ſea, which in ſome meaſure he effected *. In the twentieth year of his reign, when he thought to have taken ſome reſt from his labours, and was employed in ſettling his affairs in *Normandy*, he was alarmed with the proſpect of a new danger, by receiving intelligence, that the *Danes* were making prodigious preparations for the conqueſt of *England*. Our writers are far from giving a good account of this matter; for, though they tell us, in general, that mighty things were intended, and a vaſt fleet drawn together, yet they give us no rational motives for this attempt: nor are they leſs deficient, in what they ſay of the iſſue of this deſign, *viz.* that the fleet was detained two years in the harbour by contrary winds; and, at laſt, the enterprize was given over, when they underſtood, the mighty preparations made in *England* to receive them. But we meet with a much clearer, and more probable ſtory in the *Daniſh* authors.

THEY ſay, that king *Canutus* IV. as ſoon as he was thoroughly ſettled on his throne, began to form a deſign of aſſerting the title, which he believed his father *Swain* had left him to the crown of *England*; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the perſuaſions of his brother-

* A. D. 1085.

ther-in-law, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, who promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and by the incitements of the *Engliſh* refugees, who aſſured him, that their countrymen were quite tired out with the intolerable oppreſſions of the *Normans*, and would certainly join him, if he landed with a force ſufficient to protect them. Before he abſolutely determined to make this expedition, he aſked the opinion of his brother *Olaus* duke of *Sleſwick*, who adviſed him to undertake it; as did alſo the ſtates of the kingdom: upon which he drew together a prodigious fleet, little ſhort of a thouſand ſail, and put on board them all ſorts of ammunition and proviſion for the great body of troops he intended to imbark therein. When all things were ready, he waited ſome time for his brother *Olaus*, and, at laſt, growing impatient, he went to fetch him out of his dutchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, inſtead of preparing for the voyage to *England*; upon which, he ſeized, and ſent him priſoner into *Flanders*. During the abſence of king *Canutus*, the conſpirators on board the fleet gave out, that the proviſions were not wholeſome; that ſeveral of the veſſels were leaky; that the king's mind was changed; and, that the beſt thing they could do was, to go every man to his own home; ſo that, when *Canutus* returned, he found both his fleet and army diſperſed [q], which is certainly a better account of the miſcarriage of this undertaking, than the long continuance of croſs winds, to which ſome, or the effects of magical enchantments, to which others aſcribe it.

CERTAIN

[q] Pontan. rerum Danic. hiſt. lib. v. p. 197. Gal. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. iii.

CERTAIN it is, that king *William* brought over from *Normandy*, ſuch an army as his ſubjects till then had never ſeen; for the maintenance of which, he not only oppreſſed the nation for the preſent, but, laying hold of the general conſternation the people were in, ordered the famous *Doomſday-book* to be made, wherein taking an account of every foot of land in the kingdom, he knew, to the laſt ſhilling, how low they might be drained. I know ſome hiſtorians place this fact in another light; but I follow the *Saxon* chronicle, written in his own time, but with a truly *Engliſh* ſpirit; and, therefore, in this reſpect the beſt guide [r]. To ſay the truth, this king, knew how to make advantage of all things; but, particularly, of misfortunes: for, in all the rebellions and invaſions which happened during his reign, he conſtantly ſpared his *Normans*, and ſubdued the *Engliſh* by the arms of the *Engliſh*. So, on the rumour of this invaſion, he firſt took occaſion to fill the country with his foreign ſoldiers, and then pillaged the people for their ſubſiſtence, and to fill his own coffers. When the danger was over, he firſt ſailed to the *Iſle of Wight*, that it might appear he was not deſtitute of a naval force, in caſe his enemies reſumed their projects; and then paſſed over into *Normandy* *. The next year he engaged in a war with *France*, in which, though he was ſucceſsful, yet it coſt him his life; for, advancing too near the flames of a city which he cauſed to be burnt, he caught a fever thereby, of which he died, on the 9th of *September*

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[r] Chron. Saxon. p. 186. Ingulph. hiſt. Gul. Malmeſbur. Matth. Paris. An excellent account of Doomſday-Book, the reaſon why it was made, and its contents, is to be found, in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 373. in Mr. Hearne's accurate edition.

* A. D. 1086.

September 1087, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, and the ſixty-fourth of his age. The *Saxon* chronicle tells us, that he was a diligent and active prince, and extremely jealous of his ſovereignty, as king of *England*. *Wales* he ſubdued, and bridled with garriſons, awed *Scotland*, preſerved *Normandy* in its full extent againſt all the attempts of the *French*; and if he had lived two years longer, would have reduced *Ireland*, without employing arms[s]. In a word, he was, in *England*, a great king; and to his *Normans*, a good duke.

WILLIAM II. Sur-named *Rufus*, i. e. the red, from the colour of his hair, ſucceeded his father, though without ſo much as a plauſible title; his brother *Robert*, having not only the pretence of birth, but likewiſe a plea of merit much ſuperior to his. *William*, however, thought he might well attain by fraud, what his father had both taken, and kept, by force; and therefore, having the good-will of ſome of the clergy, he wiſely determined, to procure that of the nation, by diſtributing among them his father's treaſures. To this end, he made haſte to *England*; and going to *Wincheſter*, where his father's wealth lay, he ſcattered it abroad in ſuch a manner, that the pooreſt of the people, in every pariſh in *England*, felt the effects of it; ſo that, on his coming to *London*, at *Chriſtmas*, he was received with all imaginable tokens of loyalty and affection [t]. He eaſily diſcerned, that his brother, duke *Robert*, would not fail to give him diſturbance, and that, whenever he inclined to do it, a party would not be want-

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[s] Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.
[t] Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. iv. Henric. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. vii.

ing to aſſiſt him in *England*. He therefore, to ſecure himſelf in the firſt place, careſſed all the *Engliſh* nobility; and, contrary to his father's maxims, preferred them to the *Normans*; not out of any love, but becauſe the *Normans* were better affected to his brother. But, whatever the motive was, the thing itſelf was very beneficial to the people; for it once put arms again into their hands, and thereby gave them a power of obliging their princes to keep their promiſes longer than they intended. Another expedient of his, was of no leſs advantage; he permitted the *Engliſh* to fit out ſhips of force, to act againſt his enemies; and we ſhall quickly ſee what profit the king reaped from this indulgence [u].

ROBERT, the eldeſt ſon of the conqueror, was in *Germany*, when his father died; whence he quickly returned, to take poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Normandy*, in which, he met with no oppoſition †. When he was ſettled there, he turned his thoughts upon *England*, where his uncle *Odo*, earl of *Kent*, had formed a ſtrong party to the ſupport of his title. They ſurprized, and fortified ſeveral caſtles; and, if *Robert*, who had a good army in *Normandy*, and ſhips enough to tranſport them, had been as diligent in his own affair, as thoſe, who abetted his intereſt here, he had certainly carried his point, and tranſferred the crown, to his own, from his brother's head; but he contented himſelf, with ſending a few troops hither; which, however, landed without oppoſition, the king having no navy to oppoſe them. But, the *Engliſh*, obſerving that, after this, they began to paſs the ſeas careleſly,

[u] Roger. Hoveden. p. 461, 462. Johan. Brompton. Chron. int. x. ſcriptor. † A. D. 1088.

leſly, attacked them, as occaſion offered, took their ſhips, and deſtroyed multitudes of men; ſo that in a little time, *Robert* was glad to deſiſt from his pretenſions to the kingdom; and the king, in the fourth year of his reign, invaded *Normandy*, both by ſea and land; but, by the interpoſition of friends, their differences were compoſed, and, the brothers reconciled ‡.

THE year following, the king reſolving to be revenged on the *Scots* *, who had invaded his dominions, while he was in *Normandy*; prepared to attack them, with a conſiderable land-force, and, at the ſame time, fitted out a great fleet. Duke *Robert*, who was then in *England*, was intruſted with the management of this expedition, which was far from anſwering the expectations raiſed thereby; for, the fleet not being ready till towarde *Michaelmas*, there happened ſuch ſtorms on the *Scottiſh* coaſt, that abundance of ſhips were loſt, and many more diſabled; the army too ſuffered exceedingly, by the ſeverity of the weather; and, after all, duke *Robert* was glad, by the interpoſition of *Edgar Atheling*, to make peace with *Malcolm*, king of *Scots*; which the king ratified, without intending to keep it ᵂ. After this, there is little occurs in his reign, as to naval expeditions; except frequent invaſions of *Normandy*: which ſhews, he was ſuperior at ſea, and that he might have made a great figure by his maritime power, if he had been ſo inclined. But he had other views, and was particularly diſpoſed to bring the *Welch* under ſubjection; in order to which, he allowed the

‡ A. D. 1090. * A. D. 1091. ᵂ Chron. Saxon. p. 197, Alured. Beverl. lib. ix.

the nobility on the borders, to undertake expeditions at their own expence, and for their own advantage.

AN accident happened in one of theſe expeditions †, which ſhews how much maritime affairs were then neglected; and how imprudent a thing it is, to depend on armies without fleets. *Hugh* earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, invaded the iſle of *Angleſey*, and eaſily ſubdued the inhabitants, whom they plundered, and uſed very cruelly. But, in the midſt of their ſucceſs, one *Magnus*, a *Norwegian* pyrate, came from the *Orkneys*, which were then ſubject to the *Danes*, with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and, landing in *Angleſey* unexpectedly, defeated theſe inſolent invaders; killed the earl of *Shrewsbury* upon the ſpot, and carried off all the ſpoil, that he, and his aſſociates had taken. Not long after this, king *William* being informed, that the city of *Mans* was beſieged, he reſolved to go to its relief; and, though his nobility adviſed him to ſtay, till a ſquadron at leaſt could be drawn together, yet he abſolutely refuſed to make any delay; but, going on board a ſmall veſſel, obliged the maſter to put to ſea in foul weather, for this wiſe reaſon, that he never heard a king of *England* was drowned; and ſo landing at *Barfleur*, with the troops he had in *Normandy*, relieved the place. However ſome may commend this action, it was certainly neither prudent, nor honourable, as expreſſing rather an intemperate courage, than any ſober reſolution of maintaining his dignity, which would have been better provided for, by keeping a navy in conſtant readineſs ‡. This appears alſo to have been the king's own ſentiments; for, on his return to *England*

† A. D. 1099. ‡ Roger Hoved. p. 465. Alured. Bev. lib. ix.

the next year, his firſt care was to put his marine in a better condition; and, having formed ſome new projects, he drew together a very conſiderable fleet, at the ſame time that he raiſed a very great army: but before all things could be got ready, he was taken off by a ſudden and violent death. For going to hunt in *New-Foreſt*, he was ſhot accidentally by an arrow's glancing againſt a tree; ſo that, after fetching one groan, he died upon the ſpot. The current of our modern hiſtories have fixed this fact on one ſir *Walter Tyrrel*; but ſeveral ancient writers ſpeaking of the king's death, do not mention this gentleman; and a contemporary author affirms, that he had often heard ſir *Walter* declare, that he was in another part of the foreſt at the time of the king's death, and that he knew not how it happened [z]. Thus the rumours of one age become hiſtory in the next. This accident fell out on the ſecond of *Auguſt*, in the year 1100, when the king had reigned almoſt thirteen, and lived ſomewhat more than forty-two years. He was certainly a prince of high ſpirit, and quick parts; but had little tenderneſs for his ſubjects; and, tho' he made a better king, than his father, to the *Engliſh*, yet it was meerly becauſe he had more need of them, as appeared by the difference of his conduct, in time of diſtreſs, and when the ſituation of his affairs were mended, through their aſſiſtance; for he was then as careleſs in performing, as he had been laviſh before in promiſing; ſo that his death was looked on as a deliverance, though he left the ſucceſſion unſettled, and all things in confuſion.

HENRY,

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z *A quodam ex ſuis ſagitta occiſus*, ſays the Saxon Chron. p. 277. Suger. in vita Ludovici Craſſi.

HENRY, the youngeſt ſon of the conqueror, from his being bred to learning, ſur-named *Beauclerk*, ſtept into the vacant throne, while his brother *Robert* was in the *Holy-Land* †. He had a bad title, yet varniſhed with many fair pretences; ſuch as his being born after his father became king; drawing his firſt breath in *England*, and having ever ſhewn a great affection for his countrymen. For, the favour of the clergy, and particularly the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the chief cauſe of his peaceable acceſſion; as his being very rich, and knowing well how to diſtribute his money, gained him, after his acceſſion, many friends. In the very dawning of his reign, he diſcovered an admirable talent for government, doing more good things than his brother had ever promiſed. He reſtored in a great meaſure, the *Saxon* laws; promoted virtuous and able men; eaſed the people of their taxes, and provided for the ſecurity of the ſeas; promoting alſo, to the utmoſt of his power, the trade and navigation of his ſubjects. Still more to ingratiate himſelf with the commons, he eſpouſed *Matilda*, the ſiſter of *Edgar*, king of *Scots*, who, was niece to *Edgar Ethling*, the true heir of the *Saxon* line. All this he did with great ſincerity of heart, and not from thoſe principles of *Norman* cunning, wherein conſiſted the ſeeming wiſdom of his brother. He carried his affection for the *Engliſh* farther ſtill, by doing them juſtice upon their oppreſſors; impriſoning the biſhop of *Cheſter* in the *Tower*; who had been the principal adviſer of *William Rufus*, in all his arbitrary exactions ‡. In

† A. D. 1100. ‡ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1100. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. v. Matth. Paris, p. 55. Eadmer. hiſtor. Novor. lib. iii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

conſequence of all this, he either had, or ought to have had, the entire affection of his ſubjects. But his wiſdom would not allow him to truſt entirely to that; and therefore, as ſoon as he underſtood his brother *Robert* was returned into *Normandy*, and received there in triumph, he provided for the ſecurity of his dominions by the moſt natural method; that of increaſing his ſtrength at ſea; and giving directions to his officers, who had the cuſtody of the coaſts, called in the language of thoſe times, *Buſecarles*, to be vigilant in preventing all perſons from coming out of *Normandy*, into *England*[a].

TIME plainly diſcovered the wiſdom of the king's precaution; for duke *Robert*, who was returned with a great reputation, and who was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities, quickly renewed his pretenſions to the *Engliſh* crown; preparing both a fleet, and an army, in order to paſs over into *England* with greater forces, and hopes of better ſucceſs than formely. All our hiſtorians, however, agree, that, if king *Henry*'s commanders at ſea had done their duty, he would never have ſet his foot in this iſland by force. But it ſo happened, that, either out of hopes of profit, or from the natural levity of their diſpoſitions, ſeveral of them inclined to the duke; and, as ſoon as they knew his fleet was at ſea, went over with their ſhips, into his ſervice; by which means, he landed ſafely, at *Portſmouth*, with a gallant army *. King *Henry*, however, had not been idle; but had a conſiderable force about him, when he received this news; upon which, he marched directly to *Haſtings*, where

[a] Roger. Hoved. p. 468, 469. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1100.
* A. D. 1101.

where he was joined by many of the nobility; though ſome of theſe too afterwards went over to his brother. When things were on the point of being determined by arms, and a ſecond battel of *Haſtings* ſeemed to be the only method of clearing the royal title, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other great men, interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation; by which, the kingdom was left to *Henry*, and a penſion of three thouſand marks, was reſerved to *Robert* [b]; who, after a ſtay of ſix months in his brother's court, returned into *Normandy*, very well ſatisfied: though he did not continue ſo long; perceiving plainly, when it was too late, that he who wanted reſolution enough to contend for a kingdom, was not likely to preſerve a dukedom in quiet: and this jealouſy drew upon him in proceſs of time, the very thing that he feared, as our hiſtorians relate at large, and as I ſhall briefly ſhew, ſo far as it concerns the ſubject of which I am treating.

AFTER various paſſages into *Normandy*, the king, at laſt, determined to make an abſolute conqueſt of it, pretending, that he was aſhamed to ſee his brother not able to live upon his revenues, though he had not been aſhamed to take from him, as a gift, the penſion of three thouſand marks *per ann.* which he had forced him to accept in lieu of the crown. With this view he raiſed a great army, and a fleet proportionable, with which he croſſed the ſea [a], and, in a ſhort ſpace conquered the greateſt part of his brother's dominions. That ſtout prince, whoſe ſpirit was always ſuperior to his power, reſolved to hazard

[b] Chron. Saxon. p. 209. Matth. Paris, p. 98. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. v. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. [a] A. D. 1106.

all bravely in the field, rather than remain ſafe in his perſon, but ſtripped of his dominions. Full of this generous reſolution, he gave his brother battel, wherein he ſhewed all the courage and conduct of an experienced commander; yet in the end was routed, taken priſoner, and thence forward never enjoyed either land or liberty more [c]. The *Engliſh* writers are fond of remarking, that this conqueſt of *Normandy* happened that very day forty years, on which his father, by the battel of *Haſtings*, obtained the crown of *England*; but, as to what they relate further, of duke *Robert*'s having his eyes put out, and dying of ſpite, becauſe the king ſent him a robe that was too little for himſelf [d], they are facts very doubtful at leaſt, and therefore not haſtily to be credited.

As *Normandy* could not have been conquered without a conſiderable fleet, ſo it would quickly have been loſt again, if the king had not been ſuperior to his neighbours at ſea; for the king of *France* was very deſirous of ſetting up *William*, the ſon of duke *Robert*, and nephew to the king, for duke of *Normandy*. This obliged king *Henry* to make frequent voyages thither, and to be at great expence, as well in gratifying the *French* lords, as in maintaining an army and fleet for its defence, which did not, however, hinder him from chaſtizing the *Welch*, when they took up arms againſt him, or from ſending to the aſſiſtance of the chriſtians in the *Holy-Land*, as great ſuccours as any prince of his time [e]. Indeed, his remarkable

[c] Chronic. Saxon. p. 213, 214. Mat. Paris. hiſt. p. 62. Gul. Malmeſbur. &c. [d] This is indeed affirmed by M. Paris, and ſome other writers of good authority: but the Saxon Chronicle is ſilent; and Malmeſbury commends king Henry's kindneſs to his brother. [e] Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. v. Henric. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

able felicity in attaining almoſt every thing he undertook, put much in his power; and he had too elevated a ſoul not to to uſe what he poſſeſſed.

He received, however, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign * a very conſiderable check. For having ſettled every thing in *Normandy*, to his good liking, where for that purpoſe he had reſided for ſome years, he reſolved to return to *England*, with all the royal family. His only ſon *William*, whom he had made duke of that country, and who was alike the delight of his father and of the nation, ordered a new ſhip to be built, for the commodious carriage of himſelf, and many of his princely relations. Theſe accordingly embarked on the 26th of *November*, the weather fine, and the wind fair. The prince, having made the hearts of the ſailors merry, propoſed to them a reward, in caſe they could out-ſail the veſſel in which his father was. In attempting this, they ventured too near the ſhore, and unfortunately, juſt as it fell dark, ran upon a ſhoal of rocks, then known by the name of *Shatteras*. The boat was preſently put out, and the prince, with ſome few about him got into it, and might have been yet ſafe, if, moved by the cries of his ſiſter, the counteſs of *Perche*, he had not returned with an intent to take her in; which gave ſo many an opportunity of crowding into the boat, that it ſunk together with the ſhip, every ſoul periſhing except a butcher, who very ſtrangely eſcaped, by clinging to the main-maſt [f]. There periſhed by this misfortune about two hundred perſons; which enables

* A. D. 1120. [f] Chron. Saxon. p. 212. Gul. Malmeſbur. Henric. Huntingdon. Matth. Paris, &c.

ables us to give ſome gueſs at the bulk and burthen of ſhips in thoſe days [g].

OTHER circumſtances in this king's reign I find none, of weight enough to deſerve mention; I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with obſerving, that, by ſeveral laws relating to trade (particularly one, which gave every wreck to the owners, if a living thing was found on board) he manifeſted his attention to commerce, and his care of maritime affairs [h]. To this we may add, that the *Daniſh* prince of the *Orkneys*, made him frequent preſents, as teſtimonies of his veneration and reſpect; and, though *Morchad* king of *Ireland*, whom the writers of that country ſtile *Murchertus O'Brian*, in the beginning of his reign, treated the *Engliſh* but indifferently, yet, on king *Henry*'s threatening to prohibit all commerce with that iſland, he came to a juſt ſenſe of his folly, and ever after behaved as became him towards the ſubjects of ſo great a prince [i]. It is in ſome meaſure wonderful, that, conſidering the many and great fatigues this prince underwent, he was not ſooner worn out; but, as he was fortunate in all other things, ſo in this alſo he was happy, that he enjoyed a longer life and rule than his predeceſſors; deceaſing on the ſecond of *December* 1135, having reigned thirty-five, and lived near ſixty-eight years [k]. He was a monarch of great endowments, improved by an excellent education, who ſincerely loved the *Engliſh*, and had always a juſt regard to the honour of his crown.

STEPHEN

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[g] Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 148. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 438. contains a very particular and curious account. [h] Selden. Jan. Angl. int. oper. tom. iv. p. 1009. [i] Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. v. [k] Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Matth. Parris. Gul. Malmeſbur. &c.

STEPHEN earl of *Blois*, nephew, by the father's ſide, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandſon to *William* the Conqueror, by cajoling the *Engliſh* lords, promiſing wholly to remit *Danegeld*, and to eaſe them in other particulars, attained the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* crown, to the prejudice of *Maud* the empreſs; by the ſame arts preciſely, whereby her father had defrauded his brother duke *Robert*. This king *Stephen* was a prince, who, abating his ambition, had few or no vices; brave in his perſon, a good officer, and who, in all probability, had made an excellent king, if he had come to the throne with a better title, and had thereby ſecured a more peaceable poſſeſſion: but, being involved in wars and diſputes, almoſt through his whole reign, and, having likewiſe given up or relinquiſhed that tax, by which he ſhould have ſecured the ſovereignty of the ſea, which promiſe he exactly kept, we need not wonder, that we have leſs to ſay of him than of the other *Norman* princes[1].

IN the third year of his reign, he, with a great fleet, conſiderable army on board, invaded *Normandy*; and, though *Jeffery* earl of *Anjou*; the huſband of *Maud* the empreſs, did all that in him lay to defend it, yet he rejoined that dukedom to the *Engliſh* crown, intending to have beſtowed it on his ſon *Euſtace*. Long, however, his affairs had not this proſperous current; for, after many domeſtick troubles, his competitor *Maud* landed in *England*, and laid claim to the crown*. Though her retinue was very ſmall, ſcarce a hundred and fifty in number,

[1] Chron. Saxon. p. 238. Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 74, 75. Gul. Malmeſbur. hiſt. novel. lib. i.

* A. D. 1140.

ber, yet ſhe quickly grew ſtrong enough to give the king a great deal of trouble; nay, at length ſhe became ſo powerful, that ſhe took him priſoner, and ſent him to be kept at *Briſtol*, where, by her orders, he was put into irons; yet afterwards exchanged for her baſtard brother, *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*. This potent lord, croſſing over into *Normandy*, recovered it for his ſiſter and her ſon *Henry*, and then returning, is recorded to have invaded the northern parts of the kingdom, with a fleet of fifty-two ſail; which ſhews, how low the maritime ſtrength of the nation was then fallen, and what mighty miſchiefs follow from a conteſted ſucceſſion, which, however it may end as to princes, is ſure to be fatal to their ſubjects [m].

Indeed, this reign of king *Stephen*, if our beſt hiſtories, and the *Saxon* chronicle eſpecially, be worthy of credit, was moſt unfortunate for the people, expoſing them to ſuch miſeries and misfortunes, as in times paſt they had never felt, and which would hardly meet with any belief now. Amongſt all their grievances, this was none of the leaſt, that there was a total ſtagnation of trade, much counterfeit money, and no ſecurity for foreign merchants; remedies for all which, are expreſly provided by the treaty of peace made with *Henry* duke of *Normandy*, by king *Stephen*, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was confirmed by the king's charter, whereof an authentic copy is preſerved in *Holingſhed*'s chronicle, and no where elſe [n]. The king did not live long after

[m] Gul. Neubrigen. lib. i. cap. 13. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 460.

[n] Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1587. This was given to the editor by Serjeant Fleetwood, then Recorder of London, a great antiquary.

after this ſettlement of his affairs; otherwiſe, he would, in all probability, have done his utmoſt to reſtore things to a better ſtate; about which, when his mind was employed, he was carried off by a complication of diſtempers, on the 25th of *October* 1154, when he had reigned near nineteen years. A great captain, ſays *Matt. Paris*, and moſt of our other hiſtorians agree, as to his perſonal qualifications, a good king. Only that ancient and venerable book, the *Saxon* chronicle, which ends with his reign, ſpeaks of nothing but calamities and misfortunes which happened therein: and yet this prince had a reputation for piety, and was remarkably kind to the monks; I mention this particularly, to ſhew the impartiality of that authentic hiſtory, which well deſerves to be tranſlated from the tongue of our anceſtors, into modern *Engliſh*, and would afford ſuch as prefer truth to fine language, much ſatisfaction.

ACCORDING to the method I have hitherto followed, I ought to ſpeak now of ſuch diſcoveries as were made within this ſpace of time, or extraordinary acts performed by private perſons: in reſpect to which, however, I ſhall not detain the reader long; becauſe, in the firſt place, we have not much of this kind to note; and, ſecondly, what there is, hath been already examined by *Hakluyt*, and other collectors, and, therefore, may be preſumed ſufficiently known already. Such are the travels of *Alured* biſhop of *Worceſter*, in the year 1058, to *Jeruſalem* [o], the journey of *Ingulphus*, abbot of *Croyland*, to the ſame place, in 1091 [p]; both of which are private tranſactions, and

[o] Roger. Hoved. in parte priore Annal. p. 445. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 8. [p] Ingulph. hiſtor. ap. ſcript. poſt Bedam, p. 903, 904. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 9.

and only prove, that *Engliſh* men were as forward as any in thoſe days, in undertaking ſuch journies as might contribute to the increaſe either of their knowledge or reputation. As to the expeditions of *Edgar Atheling*, they are ſomewhat of a different kind, and are, in ſome meaſure, of national importance. His high quality, as the true heir of the *Engliſh* crown, made all his actions very conſpicuous, during the times in which he lived; and, as he often found it troubleſome ſtaying at home, under the eye of ſuch as, to his prejudice, were veſted with ſupreme power, and bore him no good will; ſo he choſe to ſignalize his courage abroad, in ſuch expeditions as fell in his way. Thus he commanded a body of *Normans*, which were ſent into *Apulia* [q], and, returning out of *Italy* with honour, he then applied himſelf to *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, who treated him with kindneſs and reſpect, and, with whom he went to *Jeruſalem*; where he likewiſe gained ſo great reputation, that, firſt, the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and then the emperor of *Germany*, would willingly have ſtaid him in their courts: but he returned in 1102, and was four years afterwards, taken priſoner with duke *Robert* in *Normandy* [r]. One of our moſt famous hiſtorians, who was his contemporary, reproaches him ſeverely for his not accepting the offers that were made him abroad, and for his fond attachment to his own country; but, if we conſider that his ſiſter was married to the king of *Scots*, and that her daughter by that king was married to king *Henry*, in whoſe reign he returned, one cannot think that cenſure very reaſonable, or that his waſting

[q] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. iii. [r] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1106.

waſting the laſt years of his life in ſo obſcure a retirement, that we know not where it was [t], or when, or how he died, appears more diſhonourable to his memory, than to the writers of that age, who were ſo devoted to power, that they could not ſo much as do juſtice to the character of a man obnoxious thereto. *Athelard*, a monk of *Bath*, is ſaid by *Bale*, to have travelled through *Egypt* and *Arabia*, in queſt of knowledge; and that, on his return home, which was towards the latter end of the reign of *Henry* I. he publiſhed many learned works [u]. *Leland*, a more accurate writer, tells us, he was a great traveller; but without any mention either of *Egypt* or *Arabia*; though he informs us, that he tranſlated *Euclid*'s *Elements* out of *Arabic* into *Latin*; and, that himſelf had ſeen another learned work tranſlated by the ſame monk, from an *Arabic* treatiſe, entitled, *Erith Elcharmi*; which deſerves to be remarked, becauſe, very probably, theſe books were then firſt brought to the knowledge of learned men here; and, therefore, this man might be ſaid to travel for publick advantage [w]. *William* of *Tyre* [x], and *Robert Ketenſis* are both mentioned in *Hakluyt* from *Bale*, for learned men and travellers, as they were [y]. The former flouriſhed under king *Henry*, the latter under king *Stephen*; but, as to any thing farther capable of recommending their fame to poſterity, I find not.

IT

[t] Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. iii. p. 103. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 10. [u] Baleus de Script. Britan. p. 183. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 15. [w] Leland Comment. de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 201. [x] Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. ii. p. 50, 150. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 16. [y] Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 191. Hakluyt, ubi ſupra.

IT appears from the renewed charters of the cinque ports, that, as they were firſt incorporated by *Edward the Confeſſor*, ſo, during the reigns of the ſeveral princes mentioned in this chapter, they were particularly ſerviceable upon all occaſions; whence it is evident, that there was a flouriſhing trade carried on from this coaſt, even in theſe times, and before them. As to the commerce of the river of *Thames*, and of the city of *London*, there is an ample teſtimony in the works of *William* of *Malmeſbury*, who flouriſhed under king *Stephen*; who aſſures us, it was then frequented by merchants of all nations, and ſo ample a ſtorehouſe of all neceſſaries of life, that, upon any dearth or ſcarcity of corn, the reſt of the nation was cheaply and conveniently ſupplied from thence[y]. The ſame writer obſerves as to *Briſtol*, that a great trade was driven from thence to *Norway*, *Ireland*, and other places, whence the inhabitants were vaſtly enriched[z]. Without doubt, the acceſſion of the *Norman* dominions was of conſiderable uſe, in reſpect to trade; as was our former intercourſe with the *Danes*, ſince it enlarged our correſponce with the northern part of the world, a thing always profitable to a country abounding with valuable commodities or manufactures, as will more clearly appear, even from our conciſe account of the ſucceeding reigns.

THE reader will obſerve, that we refer any advantages ariſing to the inhabitants of this iſland, from their falling under the ſame ſovereignty with the dutchy of *Normandy*, to the ſucceeding reigns; ſince there is nothing more certain, than that under the government of the princes mentioned

[y] De geſt. pontif. Anglor. lib. ii. [z] Ibid. lib. iv.

tioned in this chapter, they ſuffered ſeverely. *William* the firſt, provoked by frequent inſurrections in the *North*, and the aſſiſtance given by the *Scots*, to ſuch as took arms againſt him, ruined the northern parts of his territories in ſuch a manner, that they did not recover during this whole period. On the other hand, his ſon and ſucceſſor *William Rufus*, demoliſhed thirty-ſix good towns, in the faireſt and moſt fruitful part of *England*, for the making that, which is ſtill called the *new Forreſt*. What is aſcribed to rage in the one, and wantonneſs in the other, may, perhaps, be juſtly ſtiled the fruits of the ſame policy in both; for it looks as if the father had a mind to make war, a thing more difficult to the inhabitants of the *North*, by preventing their joining with the *Scots* ſo eaſily, or ſubſiſting their forces conveniently when joined, and the ſon might poſſibly be willing to have that coaſt leſs populous, that the inhabitants might not be tempted to aim at preventing his return from *Normandy*, whenever his affairs carried him thither, as otherwiſe perhaps they might have done.

BOTH thoſe monarchs ſeem to have had no tenderneſs at all for this country, but conſidered it as a farm, of which it was wiſdom to make the moſt, while in their poſſeſſion. *Henry* had indeed a heart if not entirely, yet in a good meaſure, *Engliſh*, under him the people began to recover again, and to grow wealthy, as the king did likewiſe; for it was in his time, that the revenue ariſing from the crown lands, was adjuſted and fixed to a ſettled and certain rate, ſo as that it might be paid either in money or in proviſions. As this ſhews, that the people were beginning to grow rich, ſo by attending his affairs at home, as well as he did thoſe abroad, the king grew rich too,

too, insomuch, that at the time of his demise, he actually left in his coffers the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money, exclusive of plate and jewels. This would have coined in our times to thrice that sum, but in reference to its real value, ought to be esteemed about a million. *Stephen* seized upon all this, and spent it in his wars, with much more. Better it had been, if he had spent it in his follies, for then it would have gone amongst the people, without prejudice to their industry, whereas his reign being a series of troubles, they were so often in arms, that they could attend to nothing else, which was the true source of that misery and poverty before-mentioned.

BUT to understand this, and many of our subsequent reflections perfectly, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the manner of dealing in those days, the nature of payments, and the value of gold and silver. As to the common people, in their ordinary way of trading in the country, they made but little use of money, and yet derived great advantage from the laws made for settling its value; since by those laws, the rate of most saleable goods were likewise settled. By which, exchange or barter was very much facilitated, and where commodities could not be brought to balance each other exactly, the difference was paid in money, that is, in silver, or in gold, according to the rates at which they were then fixed by law; so that none in their open dealings, could be over-reached, cheated, or wronged.

PAYMENTS, *ad scalam* and *ad pensum*, were by weight. Twenty shillings was then a pound, and the officers took sixpence over, called *vantage* money. This kind of payment was very ancient; when payment was made

made *ad penſum*, the payer was to make good the weight, tho' he had allowed the ſix-pence over. To prevent fraud in the fineneſs as well as weight, part of the money was melted down, called *combuſtion*. There were two ſorts of payments by combuſtion, real and nominal; real, when a ſample of the money was put into the furnace; nominal, when a twentieth part of a pound was taken and accepted, in lieu of actual combuſtion; when money paid in was melted down, or the ſupplement made, by adding one ſhilling to each twenty, the ferme was ſaid to be dealbated or blanched. So one hundred pounds thus paid into the *exchequer* after combuſtion, was ſaid to be one hundred pounds blank. This was oppoſed to payments made *numero*, or by *tale*, which is our modern way. Computations, or at leaſt payments were made by pounds, by marks, half marks, ſhillings, pence, *&c.* ſilver by marks, and half marks, ounces, and half ounces of gold. The mark of gold was equivalent to ſix pounds of ſilver, or ſix ſcore ſhillings of ſilver. The ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen ſhillings ſilver. The pound of ſilver was twenty ſhillings, the mark of ſilver thirteen ſhillings and four-pence, the ſhilling twelve-pence. It is requiſite to have theſe notes before our eyes, when we are ſpeaking of what paſſed in times at ſuch a diſtance, for otherwiſe it will be almoſt impoſſible to prevent falling into great miſtakes, about ſubjects of importance; as indeed ſeveral able hiſtorians have done, for want of attending carefully to theſe matters; which in all probability, they did not conceive ſo deſerving their notice, and yet a diſpoſition to negligence, is ſometimes as fatal to the reader, as an inclination to falſeſhood.

BUT that I may not ſeem to expect more caution in others, than I have ſhewn myſelf; I think it may not be amiſs, to give the public ſome account, of the reaſons why I ſuppoſe, that the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, found in the treaſury of king *Henry* the IſT, was equivalent to near a million at this time. In order to this, it is neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that in the reign of that prince, the king's tenant, who was bound to provide bread for one hundred men, was allowed to compound, by paying one ſhilling in money. The very learned biſhop *Fleetwood* ſuppoſes, that this was bread for one meal; but I am inclined to think, it was bread for a whole day; and I am induced to think ſo, becauſe, in countries where this eſtabliſhment has always prevailed, a *ration* of bread is ſtill ſo accounted. In our times, I preſume, that the value of bread for a day, may be computed at about two-pence, or rather more, and conſequently bread for a hundred men, will come to ſixteen-ſhillings and eight-pence; ſo that what could be then bought for one ſhilling, would coſt almoſt ſeventeen now. Yet if we ſhould haſtily conclude from hence, that any given ſum of money at that time, ought to be multiplied by ſeventeen, to find its equivalent in ours, we ſhall be much in the wrong. For, the ſhilling in thoſe times, was thrice as heavy as our ſhillings, and therefore, was, in reality, worth three ſhillings; ſo that in fact, the bread, that would now coſt ſixteen and eight-pence, might have been had then, for as much ſilver as is in three of our ſhillings. According to this computation, one hundred thouſand pounds then, would not be worth quite ſix hundred thouſand now; but if we reflect, that a great part of this ſum, muſt have been in gold, and that it is very reaſonable to believe, the compoſition was

not

not exactly ſet, or ſtrictly ſet, it will appear, that the eſtimation I have made, is agreeable to truth, or, at leaſt, not very wide of it.

It may not be amiſs, after dwelling ſo long upon this ſubject, to explain another point, that is the difference between the *Saxon* and the *Norman* money, which in ſound, was very great, tho' but very little in fact. The *Saxons* divided the pound weight of ſilver into forty-eight ſhillings, which, the *Normans* divided only into twenty; but then, the *Saxons* divided their ſhilling into five pence only, whereas, the *Normans* ſplit theirs into twelve; from whence it follows, that the number of pence in the *Saxon* and *Norman* pound, were the ſame; and the pounds themſelves exactly of the ſame value, as being in reality what the word implies, a pound weight of ſilver. It has been before obſerved, that great ſums of money were paid in weight, and the reaſon of it, is not hard to be found; for the coin then current, was the ſilver penny, with a deep croſs indented on the reverſe; ſo that it might be eaſily broken into the halfpenny or farthing. This was convenient enough, therefore, for ſmall matters, but not for great; and for this reaſon, all large payments were by the *ſcale*, and in caſes of very great moment, it was ſtipulated, that it ſhould be ſo; juſt as in ſucceeding times it was required, that payments ſhould be made in *ſterling* money, and as in ours, we uſe the phraſe of good and lawful money of *England*.

We collect moſt of theſe particulars, either from old records, from *monkiſh* hiſtorians, or from thoſe ancient chronicles in rhyme, which are ſtill preſerved to us by the induſtry and care of a few men of a particular taſte, tho' very little regarded by the many. It is, notwithſtanding,

very certain, that points of this nature are highly important to the thorough underſtanding, the moſt uſeful and material parts of hiſtory; ſuch as comparing the ſtate and conditions, the manners and uſages, the felicity and infelicity of paſt times, with our own, without which, hiſtorical reading is a mere amuſement; which, how much ſo ever it may enable a man to talk, will, notwithſtanding, ſcarce afford him the capacity of thinking or reaſoning better. It is upon this account, that we ſee the common people, very apt, upon ſome occaſions, to treat learning and learned men with contempt, becauſe they are not able to anſwer readily ſuch queſtions, as are propoſed to them about matters in common uſe; and, it is this likewiſe, that recommends to them *Baker*'s chronicle, and other books of a like nature, written in a familiar ſtile, and which deſcend to things which fall under daily notice, tho' they are but mean in point of compoſition, and are very frequently dark and inaccurate; which is indeed a good reaſon, why they ſhould be corrected and ſet right, inſtead of being under-valued, and wholly neglected by men of parts and knowledge; for, after all, we can never expect to ſee an *Engliſh* hiſtory compleat, if there is not full as much reſpect paid to the diſcoveries made by antiquaries, as to the greater, and more ſhining events, which are recorded by thoſe, who make the wars, and ſtate intrigues of our monarchs, their principal care, and the great buſineſs of their writings.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Naval Hiſtory of ENGLAND, *during the reigns of* Henry II. Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. *containing the ſpace of about two hundred thirty-five years.*

HENRY II. aſcended the throne, with univerſal conſent, on the death of kind *Stephen*; having, beſides his kingdom, large dominions on the continent, by various titles, *viz. Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Main*, and *Tourain*; which rendered him extraordinary powerful. He was about twenty-eight years old, at this time, and eſteemed as wiſe, and brave a prince, as that age produced. His firſt care, was, to reſtore the government to its former ſtate, by rectifying the many diſorders which had crept in, during the unſettled reign of king *Stephen* [a]. Having performed this, he projected the conqueſt of *Ireland*; for which, though he had many pretences, yet he thought fit to obtain the pope's bull, the rather, becauſe the reigning pontiff, *Adrian* IV. [*] was by birth an *Engliſhman*. This favour he eaſily obtained, for the propagating the chriſtian faith, toge-

[a] Gul. Neubrig. Hiſt. Rer. Angl. lib. ii. c. 1. [*] A. D. 1155.

ther with the power and profits of the holy ſee, as by that inſtrument appears [b]. In order to this expedition, the king conferred with his great council at *Wincheſter*, but, his mother diſliking the project, it was, for that time, laid aſide [c].

His next expedition was beyond the ſeas, in the fifth year of his reign ‡, undertaken at a vaſt expence, with a great fleet and potent army, for the recovery of the earldom of *Tolouſe*, to which the king pretended a title; but he was not ſo happy in this, as in his other expeditions; though he was ſo far ſuperior at ſea, that his enemies durſt not contend with him on that element [d]. In the eleventh year of his reign, he employed both a fleet and army againſt the *Welch* †, and afterwards was engaged in various diſputes with the king of *France*, which obliged him to a long reſidence in *Normandy* [e]. In the ſixteenth year of his reign [f], he cauſed his ſon *Henry*, then about fifteen, to be crowned king in his life-time [g]; which, inſtead of contributing, as he ſuppoſed it would, to his peace and proſperity, proved the cauſe of very great calamities to himſelf and ſubjects.

About this time, the king reſumed his grand deſign of conquering *Ireland*, to which he had various incitements. Some pretenſions he formed, from its having been anciently ſubdued by the *Britons*. Another motive was, the injuries done to his ſubjects, by the piracies which the *Iriſh* committed, taking and ſelling *Engliſh* priſoners into ſlavery: but that which gave him the faireſt occaſion, was,

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[b] Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 28. [c] Ibid. p. 31. ‡ A. D. 1159. [d] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 10. † A. D. 1165. [e] Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 46. [f] 1170. [g] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 25.

was, the tyranny of *Roderick O'Connor*, who, aſſuming the title of monarch of *Ireland*, oppreſſed the other princes in the iſland, and thereby forced them to ſeek the protection of king *Henry*. One of theſe, whoſe name was *Dermot*, king of *Leinſter*, being driven out of his dominions, paſſed over into *Normandy*, where the king then was, and entreated his aſſiſtance; which was readily granted. But the king, like a politic prince, adviſed him for the preſent, to apply himſelf to ſome of his barons, to whom he granted a licence, to undertake an expedition in his favour. Accordingly, *Robert Fitz-Stephens*, in the month of *May*, in the year 1169, landed at *Wexford*, with a very ſmall force; he was immediately followed by *Maurice Prendergaſt*, and theſe, by the aſſiſtance of king *Dermot*, having gained footing in the iſland, *Richard* earl of *Chepſtow*, called commonly in our hiſtories *Richard Strongbow*, who was the chief undertaker, went thither in perſon, and landed, the 25th of *Auguſt*, 1170, at *Waterford*, with a greater force, and in a ſhort time reduced *Dublin*, and many other places. King *Henry* having advice of their unexpected ſucceſs, began to take umbrage thereat, and publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects to return out of that iſland by a time prefixed, on pain of confiſcation of their eſtates in *England*. But they, by aſſuring the king of their duty, and ſubmiſſion to his will, engaged him to revoke that order, and to come to an agreement with them, whereby he reſerved to himſelf the ſea-ports and coaſts, and confirmed their inland conqueſts to the undertakers. The King, however, reſolved to go over thither in perſon, and, for that purpoſe, drew together a conſiderable army, which he embarked on board a fleet of four hundred ſail, and paſſed therewith from *Milford-Haven* to *Waterford*, where he landed, 25 *October*, 1171.

The appearance of ſo great a force, and the preſence of the king, had ſuch an effect on this country, then torn by inteſtine diviſions, that, in a very ſhort ſpace, the king made this great conqueſt, which he had ſo long ſought, and ſo vigorouſly endeavoured, without effuſion of blood. Afterwards keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Dublin*, he there received homage and hoſtages of the ſeveral petty princes, and even of the great king *Roderick O'Connor*; ſo that, if his affairs had permitted him to have remained there ſo long as he intended, he would, in all probability, not only have effectually reduced *Ireland*, but alſo left it in a quiet and peaceable ſtate [g]. It was diſcords ariſing in his own family, that prevented this; for *Eleanor* his queen, his eldeſt ſon king *Henry*, his younger ſons *Richard* and *Jeffrey*, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, and being ſupported therein by the power of the king of *France*, old king *Henry* was obliged, about *Eaſter*, to leave *Ireland*, and to return into *Wales*; which he did, without ſuffering any loſs, having before ſettled the *Engliſh* conqueſts in that iſland, as he thought proper [h]. Of this war, we have a very diſtinct account, though interlarded with many ſuperſtitious circumſtances by *Gerald Barry*, better known by the name of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, an eye-witneſs [i].

THE king was engaged, by the unlucky accidents before-mentioned, in various wars for many years together; in all which, he ſupported himſelf with undaunted courage, and admirable conduct. In *Normandy*, he defeated the king of *France*, and the forces of his own ſon *Henry*; the

[g] Roger. Hov. Annal. par. poſt. p. 526, 527. Matth. Paris Hiſt. Ang. p. 126. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 57. [h] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 27.

[i] There is an Engliſh Tranſlation of his Work in the firſt Volume of Holingſhead's Chronicle.

the loyal nobility of *England*, in the mean time, not only repulſed the king of *Scots*, who had invaded the *northern* provinces of *England*, but took him priſoner; and the earl of *Flanders*, who had raiſed great forces, with an intent to have invaded *England*, was ſo awed by the king's ſucceſs, that he was forced to give over his enterprize, and to diſband his army: and theſe great things the king was chiefly enabled to perform by his ſuperior power at ſea, in which, though ſome conteſt happened between him and his ſon *Henry*, yet it was quickly over; for the king's fleet deſtroyed moſt of the rebel's ſhips, and many of their confederates; inſomuch, that, wearied at length with repeated diſappointments, and brought low by numberleſs defeats, his enemies were at length content to accept a peace on the terms preſcribed them by the king; after which, he tranſported his victorious army on board a royal fleet into *England*, landing at *Portſmouth*, the 26th of *May*, 1175 [k]. The ſame year, *Roderick O'Connor* made a ſecond and more full ſubmiſſion to the king [l]; who, thereupon, tranſferred his title to that iſland, unto his ſon *John*, who, as ſome writers report, was crowned king with a diadem of *Peacock's* feathers, ſet in gold, ſent to his father, by the pope, for that purpoſe. Some part of this ſtory, however, cannot be true; ſince it appears, from the great ſeal, made uſe of by this prince, that he never ſtiled himſelf king, but lord only, of *Ireland*; into which country he alſo went † ſeveral years after, with a conſiderable army; and continued there for ſome time, though without performing any great matter [m].

EVEN

[k] Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 67. [l] Roder. O Flaherty, in Ogyg. p. 441. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 68. † A. D. 1185. [m] Camden. Britan. p. 795. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p. 630. Speed's Chronicle, p. 469.

EVEN after these times of confusion, and notwithstanding all the expences they had occasioned, the king shewed the greatness of his mind, by giving extraordinary assistance to the christians in the holy land; not only by licensing several of his nobility to go thither at their own charges, but also, by advancing large sums of money, and furnishing ships and arms [n]. How much there was of piety in these expeditions, I pretend not to determine; yet, certainly, the king's intent was good, and this good effect followed it; that his fame, and the reputation of the nation was spread thereby to the most distant parts of the world; insomuch, that the crown of *Jerusalem* was offered to the king, who, considering the state of his affairs at home, modestly declined it. Indeed, the troubles he had so happily quelled some years ago, broke out again in the latter part of his reign, when he was as unfortunate, as, of old, he had been happy; insomuch, that after undergoing a cruel reverse of fortune, occasioned chiefly by his being obliged to end these disputes by fighting by land, where his *Welsh* and *Norman* lords often betrayed him; he was at length compelled to accept such terms of peace, as *France*, and his rebellious son *Richard*, would afford him; which affected him so sensibly, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died, on the 6th of *July*, 1189, when he had reigned near thirty-five years, and lived sixty-three [o]. He was the first prince of the royal house of *Plantagenet*, and was possessed of very extensive dominions. *England* he held in a fuller and more settled condition,

[n] Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 16. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 641.
[o] Matth. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 151. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 25, 26. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p. 652, 653. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. 1. p. 94. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 481.

tion, than his predeceſſors; reſtoring the antient laws, and aboliſhing *Danegeld*. *Scotland* he humbled more than any of his predeceſſors, kept *Wales* in ſtrict ſubjection; ſubdued *Ireland*; and held all the maritime provinces of *France*, even to the mountains, which divide it from *Spain*; ſo that, as a foreign writer confeſſes, he juſtly claimed, and undeniably maintained his ſovereignty over the ſeas [p], which he eſteemed the moſt honourable prerogative of his crown.

RICHARD, ſucceeded his father king *Henry*, in all his dominions [*], as well on the continent, as in this iſland; and having adjuſted all his affairs in *France*, amicably, with *Philip Auguſtus*, who was then king, he came over hither, to ſettle his domeſtick concerns; that he might be at liberty to undertake that great expedition, on which he had ſet his heart, *viz.* of driving the *Saracens* out of the *Holy Land*, in which he was to have king *Philip* of *France*, and other great princes for his aſſociates [q]. Our hiſtorians ſpeak of this, according to their own notions, and without any reſpect had to the then circumſtances of things. Hence ſome treat of it with great ſolemnity, and as a thing worthy of immortal honour; while others again, conſider it as a pure effect of bigotry, and blame the king exceedingly, for being led by the noſe by the pope, and involving himſelf in ſo romantic a ſcheme, to the great danger of his perſon, and to the almoſt entire ruin of his ſubjects. I muſt own that, to me, neither opinion ſeems right; yet, I ſhould

[p] P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Mil. Franc. Tom. ii. p. 445.

[*] A. D. 1189. [q] Matth. Paris. Hiſtor. Angl. p. 155. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. c. i. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 97. Galfrid. de Vino Salvo. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. Johan. Brompton. Rad. de Dicето. Ran. Higden. in Polychron.

I ſhould not have expreſſed my ſentiments on this ſubject, if it did not very nearly concern the matter of this treatiſe. The power of the *Saracens* was then exceeding great, and they were growing no leſs formidable at ſea, than they had been long at land; ſo that, if the whole force of *Chriſtendom* had not been oppoſed againſt them, in the eaſt, I ſee very little or no room to doubt of their making an entire conqueſt of the weſt; for, ſince they were able to deal with the joint forces of theſe princes, in the *Holy Land*, they would undoubtedly have beat them ſingly, if ever they had attacked them. How little ſoever, therefore, the popes are to be juſtified in their ſpiritual characters, in reſpect to theſe *Croiſades*, they indiſputably ſhew'd themſelves great politicians. As to the particular caſe of *England*, though it might be hard on thoſe who lived in thoſe times, yet the nation, as a nation, reaped great advantages from it; for it not only excited a martial ſpirit, which in that age was neceſſary for their preſervation; but it alſo raiſed a much greater naval force, than had ever been ſet on foot ſince the coming of the *Normans*, and, withal, carried the *Engliſh* fame to ſuch a height, as aſtoniſhed the whole world, and was the true ſource of that reſpect, which has ever ſince been paid to the *Engliſh* flag. But it is now time to return to the expedition.

THE articles of agreement between the two kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, are recorded at large in our own, and in the *French* hiſtorians, as alſo the naval regulations[1], with which therefore I ſhall not meddle. One thing, however, is very obſervable, that when king *Richard* appeared with his

[1] Matth. Paris, Roger. Hoveden. and in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 20. there is a very large Relation in Engliſh, drawn from John Fox, who had conſulted all our hiſtorians.

his fleet before the city of *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, it ſo much aſtoniſhed the *French* king, that he, from that moment, conceived ſuch a jealouſy of king *Richard*, as could never after be extinguiſhed. During the ſtay of our king in this iſland, a difference happened between him and king *Tancred*, which occaſioned the attacking *Meſſina*, and taking it by the *Engliſh*; which, as our writers ſay, gave no ſmall umbrage to king *Philip*; though the *French* hiſtorians affirm, that he abetted king *Richard*, and had a third part of the money paid him by king *Tancred* for his pains[a]. However that was, it is certain, that this laſt mentioned prince did, by a treaty of compoſition, agree to give king *Richard* ſixty thouſand ounces of gold, four large galleons, and fifteen gallies; by which acceſſion of ſtrength, the *Engliſh* fleet, when the king left *Sicily* to ſail for *Cyprus*, conſiſted of thirteen capital ſhips of extraordinary burthen, one hundred and fifty ſhips of war, and fifty-three gallies, beſides veſſels of leſs ſize, and tenders. In their paſſage to *Cyprus*, they were ſorely ſhaken by a tempeſt, in which ſeveral ſhips were loſt, and a great number of men drowned, among whom were ſome perſons of very great diſtinction. The ſhip in which *Berengaria*, daughter to the king king of *Navarre*, and who was contracted to king *Richard*, was, with many other ladies of great quality, was very near periſhing by their being denied entrance into one of the ports of *Cyprus*, by the tyrannical king of that iſland, whoſe name was *Iſaac*, and, whom moſt of our hiſtorians grace with the high title of emperor. This, with the plundering ſuch ſhips as were wrecked upon his coaſt, and making

[a] Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Tom. ii. p. 595.

making prisoners of such persons as escaped drowning, so provoked king *Richard*, that he made a descent with all his forces, and, in the space of fourteen days, reduced the whole island, taking the king and his daughter and heiress, prisoners. Here he received *Guy*, formerly king of *Jerusalem*, with several other christian princes in the east, who swore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors, with a considerable body of troops in *Cyprus*, he sailed from thence with a much better fleet than he brought with him; for it consisted of two hundred and fifty-four stout ships, and upwards of sixty gallies. In his passage to *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, he took a huge vessel of the *Saracens*, laden with ammunition and provision, bound for the same place, which was then besieged by the christian army. The size of this ship was so extraordinary, that it very highly deserves notice. *Matthew Paris* calls it *Dromunda*, and tells us, that the ships of the *English* fleet attacked it briskly, though it lay like a great floating castle in the sea, and was in a manner impenetrable[t]. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no less than fifteen hundred men, of whom the king caused thirteen hundred to be drowned, and kept the remaining two hundred prisoners. Another writer says, who were all persons of distinction. After this victory, the king proceeded to *Acon*, which he blocked up by sea, at the same time that his forces, in conjunction with those of other christian princes, besieged it by land; so that at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole strength of the *Saracens*, under their famous prince *Saladine* [u].

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[t] Hist. Angl. p. 163. [u] Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 22. Matth. Paris. Roger Hoveden. Galf. de Vino Salvo. Mezeray.

THE *French* and *English*, took joint poſſeſſion thereof *; but, king *Philip* was ſo ſenſible of his glory being eclipſed, by the ſuperior merit of king *Richard*, that nothing would ſatisfy him but returning home, contrary to all the ſtipulations that he had made with the king of *England*. To this king *Richard*, with much ado, conſented, upon his taking a ſolemn oath, not to invade any of his dominions, till king *Richard* himſelf ſhould be returned forty days. King *Philip* left behind him the duke of *Burgundy*, with a body of ten or twelve thouſand men, with orders to obey king *Richard* as captain-general of the chriſtian forces in the *Holy-Land*; but with private inſtructions, as our hiſtorians ſurmiſe, to fruſtrate, as much as in him lay, all that king's undertakings; which, if it be not true, is at leaſt very probable, ſince that duke acted as if he really had ſuch inſtructions. But, notwithſtanding this, *Richard* took *Aſcalon*, *Joppa*, and other places, reduced the greateſt part of *Syria*, beat the *Saracens* in ſeveral engagements, and, if his confederates had done their duty as well, would infallibly have re-taken *Jeruſalem*, which was the principal deſign of the war. That he really intended it, appears from the teſtimony of a celebrated *French* hiſtorian, who tells, that the king had formed a project of acquiring mighty dominions in the eaſt, and had for that purpoſe, given to *Guy* of *Lucignan*, the kingdom of *Cyprus*, in exchange for his title to the crown of *Jeruſalem* †. But, at length, finding himſelf envied and betrayed by his confederates in the eaſt, and having intelligence that his brother *John* ſought to uſurp his dominions at home, he made

* A. D. 1191. † Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 165. Nic. Trevet. Annal. vol. i. p. 124. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 30. Mezeray, p. 598.

made a treaty with *Saladine*, and reſigned his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to his near kinſman *Henry* earl of *Champaigne*. Such was the concluſion of this famous expedition, which might have ended better, if that mixture of envy and jealouſy, which is ſo rooted in the temper of our ambitious neighbours the *French*, had not inclined them rather to ſacrifice all regard to honour, and all reſpect to religion, than ſuffer ſo great an enterprize, as that of taking *Jeruſalem* would have been, to be atchieved by an *Engliſh* prince [x].

THE king, having ſettled his affairs in the beſt manner he could in the eaſt, endeavoured to make all poſſible haſte home, but met with a ſad misfortune in his paſſage; for being wrecked on the coaſt of *Iſtria* *, where, with great difficulty, he ſaved his life, he thought for expedition-ſake, to travel by land through *Germany* incognito, taking the name of *Hugo*, and paſſing for a merchant; but arriving in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, he was unluckily diſcovered, and made priſoner, by *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*, with whom he had formerly had ſome difference in the *Holy-Land*, and who baſely made uſe of this advantage to revenge his private quarrel. After he had kept him ſome time, he delivered, or rather ſold, him to the emperor *Henry* VI, a covetous, mercenary prince, who was reſolved to get all he could by him, before he ſet him at liberty [y]. The injuſtice of this proceeding, was viſible to all *Europe*; but the dominions of the emperor, and of the *Auſtrian* prince, were ſo far out of the reach of *England*,

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[x] Galfr. de Vino Salvo. Roger. Hoveden. Gul. Neubrig. * A. D. 1192. [y] Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 172. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. p. 728. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 33.

England, and withal, the enemies of king *Richard* were become ſo numerous and powerful, that inſtead of wondring at his remaining fifteen months a captive, poſterity may ſtand amazed, how he came to be at all releaſed; eſpecially, ſince ſo large a ranſom was inſiſted on, as one hundred and four thouſand pounds: which, however, was raiſed by the people of *England*, though with great difficulty, part of it being paid down, and hoſtages given for the reſt [a]. In the ſpring of the year, 1194, the king returned into *England*, where he began to rectify all the miſcarriages which had happened in his abſence, and, perceiving that nothing could effectually ſettle his foreign dominions, but vigorous meaſures, and a war with the *French*, whoſe king acted as perfidiouſly as ever, he ſuddenly drew together a conſiderable fleet, embarked on board thereof a large body of forces, and, tranſporting them into *Normandy*, quickly diſappointed all his potent enemies views; and, after five years war, brought him to think in earneſt of peace [b]. Here, notwithſtanding, I muſt take notice of one thing, which, however ſlight in appearance, is exceedingly material to my ſubject, I mean, the marriage of *Philip Auguſtus* with *Iſemberga*, the daughter of *Canutus* the fifth, king of *Denmark*; which match was made with no other view, than to engage the *Danes* in the intereſt of king *Philip*, who intended to have employed their naval force againſt that of the *Engliſh* [b]: and ſure a ſtronger proof than this cannot be offered, of our being maſters of the ballance of *Europe*, notwithſtanding

[a] Matth. Paris. hiſt Angl. p. 173, 174. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 127. Gul. Neubrig lib. iv. cap. 41. [a] T. Walſingham, Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ. Matth. Paris, Roger. Hoveden. [b] Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 26.

the perſonal misfortunes of king *Richard*, in virtue of our ſuperiority at ſea.

In the courſe of the *French* war, the king having gained a great victory in the neighbourhood of *Blois*[c], his troops poſſeſſed the enemies camp and baggage; whereby all the records, and charters of *France*, which then were wont to follow the court, wherever it went, came into the hands of the *Engliſh*, and through careleſſneſs, were diſſipated and deſtroyed †. At laſt, when king *Richard* was reconciled to his brother *John*, and had effectually quelled his foreign enemies, he was taken out of this life by an unaccountable accident. A certain nobleman having found a large treaſure, hid in his own lands, ſent a part of it to the king, who, thereupon, demanded the whole; which being refuſed him, he preſently beſieged this nobleman in his caſtle, and going too near the walls to give directions for an aſſault, he was mortally wounded by an arrow: though ſome ſay, that the wound was not mortal in itſelf, but was rendered ſo, by the ill management of an unſkilful ſurgeon[d]. However this might be, he deceaſed on the 6th of *April*, in the year 1199, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 41ſt of his age. He was a prince very juſtly ſurnamed *Cœur de Lion*, or *Lion's-heart*, ſince his courage carried him through all things; and his firmneſs was ſuch, that it alike bound to him his friends, and daunted his enemies. A ſtrong inſtance of which, we have in the meſſage ſent by *Philip* of *France*, to earl *John*, on the king's being releaſed by the emperor,

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[c] Hiſtoire de France par Mazeray, vol. ii. p. 601. † A D. 1194. [d] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 195. Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 791. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. p. 134.

ror, *viz. That the devil was now let looſe again, and therefore he ſhould take the beſt care he could of himſelf* [e]. Of all our princes, none better underſtood the value of a naval force, or how to uſe it; as appears, not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his eſtabliſhing the laws of *Oleron*, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the conſtant care he took in ſupporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging ſeamen; whereby he drew numbers, from all parts of *Europe*, into his ſervice, and by a like vigilance, in promoting and protecting commerce [f].

JOHN ſucceeded his brother, by virtue of his will, and not in right of blood; for, if that had taken place, the crown would have belonged to his nephew *Arthur*, the ſon of his elder brother *Jeoffry*. From the day of his aſcending the throne, he was perplexed with foreign wars, and domeſtic ſeditions; and the latter hath had ſuch an effect upon our hiſtorians, that there cannot be a more difficult taſk, than even attempting to draw this king's true character. Thoſe, who allow him many virtues, are at a loſs how to account for ſeveral of his actions; and thoſe, who deny him any good qualities at all, are ſtill more at a loſs to render their relations conſiſtent. That he had very juſt notions as to maritime force, and was extremely tender of his ſovereignty over the ſeas, is more authentically recorded of him, than of any of our preceding kings; for it appears, that, very early in his reign, he, with the aſſent of the peers at *Haſtings*, enacted,

[e] Roger. Hoveden. Annal. p. 729. [f] Joan. Selden. in diſſertat. ad fletam. c. ix. Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 191.

acted, that if any of the commanders of his fleets, ſhould meet with ſhips of a foreign nation at ſea, the maſters of which refuſed to ſtrike to the royal flag, then ſuch ſhips, if taken, were to be deemed a good prize; even though it ſhould appear afterwards, that the ſtate, of which their owners were ſubjects, was in amity with *England*[g]. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that this ſtriking to the royal flag was now firſt claimed; but rather, that, as an old right, it was, for the preventing unneceſſary diſputes, clearly aſſerted. If it had been otherwiſe, one would imagine that it would prove more ſtill; ſince no prince, who was not confeſſedly ſuperior at ſea, could ever have ſet up, and carried into practice, ſo extraordinary a pretenſion[h]. We may, therefore, conclude, that this, together with his warrant for preſſing all ſhips into ſervice, when he had occaſion for tranſports, with other things of the like nature, were, in conſequence of ancient uſage, founded on the indubitable rights of his predeceſſors.

FROM his entrance on the government, the king of *France* ſhewed himſelf as much his enemy, as ever he had been his brother's; invading his territories on the continent †, under pretence of protecting prince *Arthur*; but, in reality, in order to aggrandize himſelf, and to unite *Normandy*, and other provinces, to the *French* crown. Theſe ſtirs obliged king *John* to paſs frequently into *Normandy*, with conſiderable armies; where ſometimes he did great things, and ſometimes little or nothing. Our hiſtorians, generally ſpeaking, charge the king roundly with negligence, and want of ſpirit[i]; whereas the king, in his days,

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[g] Selden. Mare Clauſum. p. ii. c. 26. [h] Ibid. † A. D. 1200. [i] Roger. Hoveden. Polyd. Virgil.

days, attributed all his loſſes, to the want of fidelity in his barons [k]. The beſt way to learn truth, is to conſult unprejudiced writers; and, in this caſe, it muſt be owned, that the *French* hiſtorians deſcribe king *John* as a fierce and active prince, and, particularly, aſcribe the great victory he gained at *Mirabell*, to * his extraordinary expedition, marching night and day with his forces, to the relief of his mother [l]. It ſeems, therefore, moſt probable, that the great men in theſe times, were in fault; and that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, that the humbling of their prince might prove the means of their own exaltation. This conduct of theirs loſt the king the greateſt part of his *French* dominions, and was alſo the cauſe of the diſputes between him and his barons at home; who always thought themſelves well entitled to their privileges; and yet ſeldom ſaw it convenient to yield the king their obedience. When, by their help, he might have preſerved his territories on the continent, they denied their aſſiſtance; and yet, when they were torn from him, they clamoured at the loſs. This ſo exaſperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high ſpirit, that he reſolved to conquer them, and to make one experiment more of the fidelity of his ſubjects †. In order to this he aſſembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to paſs into *Normandy*; but, when all was ready, and the nobility ſeemed thoroughly diſpoſed to behave as became them, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marſhall* earl of *Pembroke*,

[k] See the reign of this prince in Speed's Chronicle. * A. D. 1201. [l] Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, vol. ii. 611. † A. D. 1206.

Pembroke, came, and in the name of the pope, forbad him to proceed [m]. The king unwillingly obeyed, and yet repenting of this ſtep, he the next day put to ſea, with a few faithful ſubjects, hoping that the reſt, either out of fear or ſhame, would have followed: but in this he was diſappointed; for they not only remained where they were, but by ſending after the king's ſmall ſquadron, prevailed on many to come back; ſo that the expedition was entirely diſappointed; which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly diſtaſted the ſeamen, of whom no leſs than fourteen thouſand were come from different parts of the kingdom, in order to ſerve on board the royal fleet [n]. This, at the ſame time that it ſhews king *John*'s misfortune, demonſtrates alſo, how great our maritime force was in thoſe days, and what wiſe regulations ſubſiſted, ſince ſuch a number of ſeamen could be ſo eaſily drawn together. Our beſt writers agree, that the conduct of the archbiſhop, and the earl of *Pembroke*, was the effects of their engagements with *France*, and, in all probability, the great view of *France* in this tranſaction, was, to diſtreſs the king in this tender point, and to prevent his being able to aſſemble ſuch a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them; for the king always kept the hearts of the ſeamen, and, by doing ſo, defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of *France* to ſtruggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is an extraordinary fact, and of the higheſt importance to my ſubject; therefore, I ſhall endeavour to make it out in

[m] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. [n] Roger. Hoveden. Annal.

in ſuch a manner, as to leave the reader no colour of doubt; and, by ſo doing, ſhall effectually prove, that, though a king may be undone by truſting to his army, he cannot but be ſafe, if he is ſecure of his fleet.

THE kingdom, or, as it was then properly ſtiled, the dominion of *Ireland*, belonged to king *John*, before he attained the realm of *England*, and had remained more obedient to him, than any other part of his territories; but now troubles began there *, and ſuch accounts were tranſmitted of the inſolence of ſome of the lords proprietors, and of the devaſtations committed by the native *Iriſh*, hitherto unſubdued, that the king reſolved to go over in perſon and reduce it °. For this purpoſe, the king ordered a great army to be levied, and drew together a prodigious fleet, little ſhort of five hundred ſail; with which he paſſed, from *Pembroke* in *Wales*, into *Ireland*, where he landed the 25th of *May* 1210. The fame of his coming, and the appearance of ſo great a force as he brought with him, ſo terrified the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, and low countries, that they immediately came and ſubmitted. On his arrival at *Dublin*, twenty of the *Iriſh* chiefs came in, and ſwore fealty to him; and, having thus performed much in a peaceable way, he, by force of arms, atchieved the reſt, reducing the king of *Connaught*, beſieging and taking the caſtles of many rebellious lords, and forcing them either to yield, or quit the kingdom. When things were brought to this paſs, he thought of civil eſtabliſhments; ordered the whole realm to be for the future governed by the *Engliſh* laws, and appointed ſheriffs,

* A. D. 1209. ° Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 230.

and other legal officers in every county. At his departure, conſtituting *John de Gray*, then biſhop of *Norwich*, governor of *Ireland*, a very wiſe and prudent man, who, purſuing the king's plan, brought that nation into a ſettled ſtate [p]. This certainly ſhewed not only the ſpirit and temper of the king, but the utility of his fleet, without which he could not have entered on this expedition with ſuch honour, or have finiſhed it with ſo great ſucceſs; eſpecially at a time, when at home things were in ſo bad a ſituation.

On his return, he found the *Welch* in rebellion, his barons diſaffected, and the king of *France* contriving an invaſion. His ſpirits were far from being broken by theſe croſſes; for, as to the *Welch*, he hanged up their hoſtages [q], and with a royal army, would have entered into, and ſubdued their country, if he had not been well-informed, that ſome of his principal lords intended either to deſtroy him in that expedition themſelves, or elſe deliver him up to the enemy [r]. He, thereupon, firſt diſmiſſed his army, and then took hoſtages of the noblemen he moſt ſuſpected †. Soon after, the *French* invaſion terrified the nation; the pope having abſolved the king's ſubjects from their allegiance, and given the kingdom of *England* to *Philip Auguſtus*, of *France*. This monarch, well pleaſed with ſo noble a preſent, raiſed a prodigious army, and brought together, ſome ſay, thirteen hundred ſhips, in order to embark them for this iſland [s]. On the other hand, king *John*

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[p] Annal. Hibern. ap. Camd. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 154. Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. vol. i. p. 230, 231. Thom. Walſingham. Hypodigm. Neuſt. [q] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 231. R. Wendover. [r] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 231. † A. D. 1212. [s] Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622. Matth. Paris. vol. i. p. 232. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157.

John was not ſlack in his preparations; he ſhewed his diligence in collecting a force equal to that of the enemy, and his magnanimity in diſmiſſing a part of them, that the reſt might have the greater plenty of proviſions; yet, after this was done, he incamped ſixty thouſand men on *Barham-Downs*, having a larger fleet riding along the coaſt, than had been ſeen in thoſe times; and in this poſture he waited for his foes [t]. But, the pope's legate coming over, and promiſing to deliver him from this danger, if he would ſubmit himſelf and his kingdom to the ſee of *Rome*; he, to prevent effuſion of blood, and, perhaps, fearing the treachery of his barons, conſented thereto, and the pope immediately prohibited king *Philip* to proceed [u]. He too, notwithſtanding his great power, obeyed, though with an ill-will, yet reſolved to make ſome uſe of this mighty armament, and therefore turned it againſt the earl of *Flanders*, ſending the beſt part of his fleet to waſte the coaſts of that country, while himſelf with a great army entered it by land. King *John* was no ſooner informed of this, than he ordered his navy under the command of his brother the earl of *Saliſbury*, to ſail to the aſſiſtance of his ally *. He, finding the *French* fleet, part riding in the road, and part at anchor, in the haven of *Dam* in *Flanders*, firſt attacked and deſtroyed thoſe without, and then, landing his forces, fell upon the *French* in the harbour by ſea and land, and after an obſtinate diſpute took them all, ſending home three hundred ſail, well laden with proviſions, to carry the news of the victory, and ſetting all the reſt on fire. So fortunate was this prince at ſea, becauſe his

[t] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 234. [u] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157, 158. Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 237. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 507. * A. D. 1213.

his ſailors were loyal, who was ſo unlucky on ſhore through the treachery of his great men [w].

THUS delivered from his preſent apprenſions of the *French*, the king began to think of paſſing once again beyond the ſeas, in order to recover his rights; but met with ſo many difficulties and diſappointments, that it was long before he could carry his deſign into execution. At laſt, in the month of *February* 1214, he, without the aſſiſtance of his barons, embarked a great army on board a powerful fleet, and therewith ſailed to *Rochel*, where he landed, and was well received, the greateſt part of the country ſubmitting to him immediately. For ſome time he carried on the war againſt the *French* proſperouſly; but his fortune changing, and his allies being beat in the fatal battel of *Bovins* †, he was conſtrained, about *Eaſter*, in the next year, to agree to a truce; the rather, becauſe his ſubjects in *England* began to rebel [x]. In the month of *November*, he returned into this kingdom, where he found things in a much worſe condition than he expected. The barons in his abſence had time to confer together, and had reduced their demands into form; ſo that the king quickly found, that either he muſt grant what they aſked, or, if he ventured to refuſe them, muſt have recourſe to the ſword. At firſt, he choſe the latter; but he quickly found, that the barons were like to be too ſtrong for him; and, therefore, in a meadow between *Egham* and *Staines*, called *Runnemede*, i. e. the *Mead* of *Council*, he granted that charter in the ſight of both armies, which ſince, from the importance of its contents, and the ſolemnity with

[w] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. p. 157. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 623. Matt. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 238. † A. D. 1214. [x] Chroniques Abrege de Rois de France, p. 79. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 625.

with which it was made, hath been ſtiled *Magna Charta*, or the *Great Charter* [y]. Yet, repenting of this ſoon after, he endeavoured to fruſtrate what he had done; but, the barons were too ſtrong for him, and reduced him to ſuch ſtreights, that at length he was conſtrained to fly to the *Iſle of Wight*, where he lived, in a manner, little different from that of his predeceſſor king *Ælfred*, when he fled from the *Danes*; yet in all his diſtreſſes, his ſeamen remained faithful; and now, when he had not a houſe in which he could ſleep with ſafety on ſhore, he found a ſanctuary from all dangers in his ſhips, in which he frequently chaſed the veſſels of his diſloyal ſubjects, and by landing on the coaſts, ſpoiled their eſtates, and thus ſubſiſted the few loyal perſons who ſtuck to him, at the expence of his and their enemies [z].

In the mean time, the barons plainly perceiving their want of a head, reſolved to invite over *Lewis*, ſon to the king of *France* *, who had married king *John*'s niece, in order to ſhelter themſelves againſt the reſentment of that monarch, by ſetting his crown on the head of this young prince. Not only *Lewis*, but king *Philip* his father, reliſhed this propoſal exceedingly, and, aſſembling a fleet of ſix hundred and ten ſail at *Calais*, the prince, with a numerous army landed in *Kent* [a]. The city of *London*, long alienated from the king in affection, declared immediately for the invader, received him with joy, and ſwore allegiance to him as their ſovereign †. In the mean time, king *John* was by no means idle: he endeavoured to maintain

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[y] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 255, 256, &c. [z] R. de Wendover. * A. D. 1215. [a] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 281. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 165, 166. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 629. † A. D. 1216.

maintain himſelf in *Kent*, where he had a conſiderable army; but, finding many of his barons unfaithful, and his forces not ſtrong enough to hazard a battel, he garriſoned ſome caſtles, and particularly that of *Dover*, that he might be able to protect his fleet; and then marched to *Wincheſter*, where he ſoon drew together a much greater force than his enemies expected. Breaking out from thence like a tempeſt, he laid waſte the eſtates of his rebellious barons, in ſpight of the foreign aſſiſtance they had received; and, having acquired a vaſt booty, he came with it to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, which had ſignalized its loyalty to him in his utmoſt diſtreſs, as moſt of the ports in the kingdom did; but, marching from thence into *Lincolnſhire*, his carriages were loſt in the waſhes, and himſelf and his army narrowly eſcaped [b]. At *Swine's-Head* abbey, he was attacked by a diſtemper which proved fatal to him; but what that diſtemper was is very difficult to ſay: ſome affirm, that it was the effects of grief [c], others call it a fever [d], others a flux [e], and others a ſurfeit [f]; but many of our beſt writers, and the moſt authentic foreign hiſtorians affirm, that he was poiſoned by a monk, which it is certain his ſon [g] *Henry* believed. This end had the troubles of king *John* at *Newark*, to which place he was carried in a horſe-litter, on the 18th of *October* 1216, when he had reigned near eighteen years [h].

WE have already ſhewn, how this king vigorouſly maintained his ſovereignty of the ſea, and left more expreſs

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[b] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 287. [c] Johan. de Wallingford. [d] Polyd. Virgil. [e] Thom. Otterborn. [f] Matth. Weſtmonaſt. [g] See this point cleared in the cloſe of king John's reign, in Speed's Chronicle. [h] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 166. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 288. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 512, 513.

preſs tokens thereof to his ſucceſſors, than any of the kings who reigned before him. To this we muſt add, that he was a great encourager of whatever had a tendency to the ſupport of maritime ſtrength, or to the eaſe and increaſe of trade. He granted more, and larger, charters to cities and boroughs, than any of his predeceſſors; and by thus ſtrengthning the liberties of the people, incurred the hatred of his ambitious barons [i]. He ſettled the rates of neceſſaries, and effectually puniſhed all kind of fraud in commerce [k]. To him likewiſe was owing many regulations in reſpect to money, and the firſt coining of that ſort which is called *Sterling*. One cannot therefore help doubting, when we conſider that he was the author of our beſt laws, whether thoſe writers do him juſtice, who declare that king *John* was one of the worſt of our kings. On bad terms he ſtood with the monks, and at that time they penned our hiſtories; which is a ſufficient reaſon againſt his obtaining a good character, even though he had deſerved it. So much of his fame, however, as may reſult from the reſpect he had to naval affairs, we have endeavoured to vindicate; and ſhall do the ſame good office (as indeed it is our duty to do) to every other prince, in whoſe favour authorities may be produced againſt common opinion.

HENRY III. a child between nine and ten years of age, ſucceeded his father immediately in his dominions, and in time became alſo the heir of his misfortunes. At firſt, through the care of the earl of *Pembroke* his guardian, he was very ſucceſsful; that wiſe nobleman ſhewing the

[i] Speed's Chronicle, p. 506. [k] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 129. Camden. Britan. in Striveling. Roger. Hoveden. Annal.

the barons, that now they had nothing to fear from king *John*, and themſelves alſo by this time well knew, they had very little to hope from king *Lewis*, who put *French* garriſons into all the caſtles that were taken by the *Engliſh* lords, and gave glaring proofs of his intention to rule as a conqueror, in caſe he could poſſeſs himſelf of the kingdom [l]. In a ſhort time therefore, the royaliſts grew ſtrong enough to look the enemy in the face; which the *French* ſo little apprehended, that with an army of twenty thouſand men, they had marched northwards, and beſieged *Lincoln*. The city quickly fell into their hands, but the caſtle being very ſtrong for thoſe times, made an obſtinate defence; and while they were engaged before it, the earl of *Pembroke* with his forces, came to offer them battel. The barons, who adhered to king *Lewis*, and who were certainly beſt acquainted with the ſtrength of their countrymen, adviſed the *French* general to march out and fight; but he, ſuſpicious of their integrity, endeavoured to ſecure his forces in the city. The royaliſts firſt threw a conſiderable reinforcement into the caſtle, and then attacked the enemy in the town. The ſtruggle was very ſhort, the *French* and their confederates being quickly beat, almoſt without bloodſhed, and the victorious army ſo exceedingly enriched by their plunder, that they ſtiled this battel *Lewis-Fair*, as if they had not gone to a fight, but to a market [*]. The conſequences of this battel, brought the *French* prince and his faction ſo low, that he was glad of a truce, which might afford him time to go back to *France* for ſuccours; and, this being granted, he paſſed over accordingly to *Calais*, many of the barons deſerting him in his abſence [m].

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[l] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 292. [*] A. D. 1217. [m] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 168. Mat. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 296. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631.

HE did not ſtay long abroad, but, providing with the utmoſt diligence a conſiderable recruit, embarked on board a fleet of eighty ſtout ſhips, beſides tranſports, and immediately put to ſea. *Hubert de Burgh*, governor of *Dover* caſtle, aſſiſted by *Philip de Albanie*, and *John Marſhal*, reſolved to encounter him, with the ſtrength of the cinque ports; and, accordingly, met him at ſea with forty ſail. The *Engliſh*, perceiving that the *French* had the advantage of them both in ſhips and in men, made uſe of their ſuperiority in ſkill; ſo that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the tranſports, and ſunk them with all the ſoldiers on board; their long bows alſo did them notable ſervice: and to prevent the *French* from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their deck, which the wind, blowing freſh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them; ſo that declining the diſpute, they as faſt as poſſible bore away for ſhore; and, landing at *Sandwich*, *Lewis* in revenge for the miſchief their ſhips had done him, burnt it to the ground [a]. The *Engliſh* were every way gainers by this engagement; as on the other hand, it entirely ruined the affairs of *Lewis*, who was now forced to ſhut himſelf up in *London*, where very ſoon after he was beſieged, the *Engliſh* fleet in the mean time, blocking up the mouth of the *Thames*. He quickly ſaw how great his danger was, and how little reaſon he had to to expect relief. In this ſituation, he did all that was left for him to do; that is to ſay, he entered into a treaty with the earl of *Pembroke*, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of *England*, and provided the beſt he could for

[a] Annal. Waverl. Thom. Walſingham. hypodigm. Neuſtriæ.

for himſelf and his adherents; which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners [o], and remains an inconteſtable proof, that as nothing but our inteſtine diviſions can invite an invaſion, ſo while we retain the ſovereignty at ſea, ſuch attempts in the end muſt prove fatal to thoſe who undertake them.

THE importance of this engagement will excuſe our dwelling upon it ſo long, as well as our taking notice here of ſome leſſer circumſtances relating thereto. One *Euſtace*, who had been in his youth a monk, but for many years had exerciſed the trade of a pyrate, and had done the *Engliſh* in particular much miſchief, fell now into their hands, and, though he offered a large ſum of money for his ranſom, yet it was refuſed, and he put to death. There are ſome differences in our ancient hiſtorians, as to the year in which this famous ſea-fight happened, which it will be neceſſary to clear up, becauſe any error therein would affect moſt of the ſubſequent dates. In the firſt place, *Matthew Paris* fixes on the very day, and aſſures us, that it was gained on the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, 1217 [p]. *Trivet* places it in the ſame year, and gives us the reaſon why *Euſtace* the monk was ſo ſeverely dealt with. He, like an Apoſtate as he was, ſays my author, went from ſide to ſide, and of a wicked monk, became a very devil, full of fraud and miſchief. As ſoon, therefore, as he was taken, his head was ſtruck off, and being put upon a pole, was carried through a great part of *England* [q]. Yet *Holingſhead* places it under the year 1218 [r], and the *French* hiſtorian *Mezeray*, in 1216 [s]. Theſe errors

[o] Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631. [p] Hiſt. Angl. p. 298. [q] Annal. vol. i. p. 169. [r] Vol. ii. p. 201. [s] Abbregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, vol. ii. p. 631.

rors however, are eaſily rectified, ſince it is certain, that the treaty of peace followed this victory, and we find it bore date the eleventh of *September*, 1217 [t].

THE ſame wiſe governors, who had ſo happily managed the king's affairs hitherto, and had ſo wonderfully delivered him out of all his difficulties, ſhewed a like diligence in eſtabliſhing the tranquility of the realm, and cultivating a correſpondence with foreign princes; of which, various teſtimonies occur in Mr. *Rymer*'s collection of treaties; hence it is evident, that they were extremely tender of trade, and of the dominion of the ſea [u]. In order, however, to keep up the martial ſpirit of the nobility, and, perhaps, to prevent their breaking out into rebellions at home, leave was given them to take the croſs, and to make expeditions into the *Holy-Land* [w]. Thus the earls of *Cheſter*, *Winchеſter*, and *Arundel*, went at one time ‡; the biſhops of *Winchеſter*, and *Exeter*, at another, with many followers *; ſo that by the time they came into *Syria*, there were not fewer *Engliſh* there, than forty thouſand men; of whom, very probably, but few came home [x]. The deſire king *Henry* had to recover the provinces taken from him by the king of *France*, and the clear title he thought derived to him from the treaty made with *Lewis*, who was now king, induced him more than once, to ſolicit that prince to reſtore them, and to ſend over ſmall ſupplies of forces into the places which he ſtill held. All this

[t] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 222. Edit. 2de. [u] The reader may find a multitude of inſtances in ſupport of this in the firſt volume of the Fœdera, and not a few in the ſecond volume of Hakluyt. [w] Matth. Paris. Thom. Walſingham. Annal. Waverl. ‡ A. D. 1218. * A. D. 1227. [x] Hakluyt. vol. ii. p. 31.—38.

this produced nothing conſiderable; ſo that at laſt the king reſolved to go over, as his predeceſſors had done, with a great fleet and a numerous army. With this view, large ſums were demanded, and given by parliament, and ſuch a force aſſembled, as the nation had ſcarce ever ſeen; but when the forces marched, about *Michaelmas*, to *Portſmouth*, in order to embark, the fleet provided for that purpoſe, appeared ſo inſignificant, that it became neceſſary to poſtpone the expedition, till the next ſpring †; a thing highly prejudicial to the king's affairs, and yet more ſo to his reputation [y]. The next year, the king actually invaded *France*, and might, if he had puſhed this war with vigour, have recovered the dominions of his anceſtors; but, being entirely governed by his mother, and her ſecond huſband, he conſumed both his time and money ‡, in pompous entertainments; ſo that the *French* coming down with a conſiderable body of forces, compelled him, after he had been there from *April* to *October*, to ſail home again, without adding any thing either to his honour or to his dominions [z]. This miſtake had terrible effects; for it emboldened ſuch of the lords as were diſaffected, and gave the common people a mean opinion of their prince; which is, generally ſpeaking, the conſequence of all ſuch miſcarriages.

His brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, who was naturally an active prince, and therefore little pleaſed with the king's management, reſolved, about the year 1240, to take upon him the croſs, and to lead a body of ſuccours into the *Holy-Land*. With him went the earl of *Saliſbury*, and

† A. D. 1229.
‡ A. D. 1230.

[y] Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 363.
[z] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 183.

and many other perſons of diſtinction; and not long after, *Simon* earl of *Leiceſter*, and John earl of *Albemarle*, followed his example *. Thus, in times of great ſupineneſs, in the adminiſtration here, the honour of the nation abroad, was ſupported by the valour and activity of private perſons [a]. Diſputes with the barons, continued to embroil the kingdom, and to hinder the king from thinking of foreign affairs; but, in 1242, the king reſumed his project of reducing *Gaſcogny* under his dominion. To this, he was chiefly excited by his mother, a high-ſpirited, haughty woman, who had contributed much to his father's misfortunes. Accordingly, having with much ado, obtained money of his parliament, for that purpoſe, the king with a ſmall force paſſed over into *France* ‡; where, ſo long as his money laſted, he kept up a kind of war, more detrimental to himſelf than to the enemy [b]. By this ſtrange ſort of management, the naval force of the kingdom was declined to ſuch a degree, that the *Normans* and *Britons* were too hard for the cinque ports, and compelled them to ſeek relief from the other parts of the kingdom, who, in the firſt year of this king's reign, had performed ſuch extraordinary things. One *William Marſhall*, of the noble family of *Pembroke*, having ſome way incurred the king's diſpleaſure, became a pyrate, and fortifying the little iſland of *Lundy*, in the mouth of *Severn*, did ſo much miſchief, that at length it became neceſſary to fit out a ſquadron, to reduce him; which was accordingly done, and he ſuffered by the hand of juſtice at *London* [c]: yet the example did not

* A. D. 1240. [a] Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 536.
‡ A. D. 1242. [b] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 194. [c] Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 584.

deter other diſcontented perſons from practices of the like nature.

AN idle deſire, of making his ſon *Edmund* king of *Sicily*, drew the king into vaſt expences; and yet produced nothing glorious, in the leaſt degree to the nation, any more than another expedition he made, for the recovery of *Normandy* in 1260, which ended in a diſhonourable treaty; whereby, for the ſake of certain ſums of money, he renounced all title to thoſe countries which had been the patrimonial poſſeſſions of his anceſtors; and thence forward left the dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* out of his titles [d]. On his return home, he met with freſh griefs, and greater diſturbances than ever. The barons grew quite weary of a king entirely directed by foreigners, and who thought of nothing but providing for his favourites, at the expence of his people. The cinque ports, ever ſteady in his father's intereſt, revolted from him, ſided with the barons, and fitted out a conſiderable fleet for their ſervice. But, as theſe were times of great licence, ſo in a very ſhort ſpace, the inhabitants of theſe ports, forgot the motives on which they took arms, and began to conſider nothing but their private intereſt; taking, indifferently, all ſhips that fell into their hands, and, exerciſing an unlimited pyracy on foreigners, as well as the king's ſubjects. By their example, ſomething of the ſame nature was practiſed on the coaſt of *Lincolnſhire*; for certain Mal-contents, having ſeized the *Iſle of Ely*, plundered all the adjacent countries, and carried it to this receptacle of theirs. At length, however, by the induſtry and valour of Prince *Edward* †, they were

[d] Gul. Riſhanger. in continuat. Matth. Paris, p. 289. Rymer's Fœder. vol. i. p. 668. † A. D. 1266.

were reduced; and the ſame worthy perſon, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force, brought the inhabitants of the *cinque ports* to return to their duty [e].

THE confuſion of the times, however, was ſuch, and the king's temper timid, irreſolute, and in all caſes ſo little to be depended on, that the gallant prince *Edward*, with his brother *Edmund*, and many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, took the croſs, and went againſt the *Saracens* *. A ſtronger inſtance there could not be, of the low, and exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, than the equipage with which theſe princes went; for their ſquadron conſiſted of no more than thirteen ſhips, on board of which there were embarked above a thouſand men: and yet, on his coming into the eaſt, the very fame of prince *Edward* drew to him a conſiderable force, with which, he performed many noble acts, inſomuch, that the infidels deſpairing of any ſucceſs againſt him in the field, had recourſe to a baſe aſſaſſination; which likewiſe failed them [f]. On his recovery, the prince finding that he ſhould not be able to do any great ſervice to the chriſtian cauſe in thoſe parts, ſettled his affairs in the beſt manner poſſible, in order to return home. In the mean time, the king his father, in the laſt years of his life enjoyed more peace than he had formerly done, which was in ſome meaſure owing to a change in his conduct; having learned by experience, that to govern a kingdom was a painful office, and required more application than hitherto he had beſtowed upon it. But what ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of this ſhort

[e] Annal. Waverl Gul. Riſhanger, contin. Hiſt Angl. p 1004.
* A. D. 1269. [f] Annal Waverl. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 232. Gul. Riſhanger, in cont. Hiſt. Angl. p. 1007. Hakluyt vol. ii. p. 36.

calm, after ſo high a ſtorm, was, the death of his principal oppoſers, all of whom king *Henry* out-lived, and the uneaſy circumſtances in which they left their heirs; ſo that upon the whole, the fire of ſedition might in this caſe, be ſaid to extinguiſh for want of fuel, and the king to die in peace, becauſe the power of diſturbing him was exhauſted. He ended his life on the 16th of *November*, 1271, when he had reigned ſomewhat more than fifty-ſix years, and lived ſixty-ſix [s]. He was a prince but of moderate endowments, which rendered him unable to govern without aſſiſtance; and rendred him alſo too prone to an implicit confidence in ſuch as were about him. In the firſt years of his reign, while the famous *Hubert de Burgh*, earl of *Kent*, was at the head of the adminiſtration, there ſeems to have been great care taken of commerce, which muſt have been very conſiderable, to ſupply the prodigious expences of his foreign expeditions, or rather journies; in one of which, he carried over no leſs than thirty large caſks of ſpecie; as alſo the mighty ſums employed by the ſeveral adventurers in the holy wars, who conſtantly mortgaged their lands, at ſetting out, and ſpent the money they raiſed, beyond the ſeas. Beſides all this, we find, that whenever any reſpite from troubles would allow it, this was a moſt luxurious age, and the king's kindneſs for foreigners, eſpecially the *Poictovins*, enabled them to carry away vaſt ſums; and his brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, is ſaid to have laviſhed much treaſure in attaining the pompous title of king of the *Romans*; which enormous expence did not, however, hinder his living and dying a very rich man; ſo that ſome way or other, vaſt ſums muſt by

[s] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 236.

by the ballance of foreign trade have remained here, otherwiſe ſuch large draughts could not have been ſupplied: and yet we are pretty certain, that the policy of this king's time, did not reach to any of thoſe refined arts of creating an appearance of wealth, by altering the value of the current coin, which have been ſince found out. Better arguments than theſe, to prove a balance of trade in favour of that age, can hardly be produced; and therefore we muſt allow, that ſuch a balance there was: though doubtleſs under a better government, and a more ſettled ſtate of things, it would have been much larger. But the miſtakes of former, are, or at leaſt ſhould be, leſſons to later ages.

EDWARD I. ſurnamed *Longſhanks*, though at his father's deceaſe in the *Holy-Land*, was readily and unanimouſly acknowledged his ſucceſſor; nor did there happen any diſturbance, notwithſtanding he delayed his return to the 25th of *July*, 1274. In his paſſage home, he viſited pope *Gregory* X. and king *Philip* of *France*; ſtaid ſome time at his city of *Bourdeaux*, and, having thoroughly ſettled his affairs abroad, arrived here with an eſtabliſhed reputation, as well for wiſdom as courage; which, perhaps, was the principal reaſon that all antient animoſities ſeemed buried in oblivion; and, his barons ſhewed as great alacrity in obeying him, as they had diſcovered obſtinacy in thwarting his father. He, on the other hand, ſhewed a great ſpirit of forgiveneſs, and addreſſing himſelf to the government, with equal ſpirit, and diligence, quickly gave a new face to public affairs. The deſire he had of ſettling the realm in perfect tranquility, engaged him to ſpend ſome time in making new laws, and compoſing old differences amongſt potent families; in regulating affairs with the king

of *Scots*, and in providing for the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* frontiers towards *Wales*, by redreſſing the grievances complained of by the *Welch*, and heaping favours upon *David*, brother to *Llewellin*, who ruled over all *Wales*. Yet this peace did not continue long, and the nature of this treatiſe leads us to ſhew, how it was broken, and what were the conſequences of that breach [h].

LLEWELLIN was a wiſe and warlike prince, more potent than any of his predeceſſors; but withal, exceſſively ambitious, filling his mind with vain hopes, founded on old prophecies, and furthered, in all probability, by his intrigues with ſome of the *Engliſh* barons. Theſe notions induced him to decline paying homage to king *Edward*, and to endeavour to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by marrying the daughter of *Simon Mountford*, late earl of *Leiceſter*, that determined enemy of the royal family *. This lady coming to him by ſea, from *France*, for when came miſchief into this iſland from another quarter? was taken at ſea by ſome ſhips from the port of *Briſtol*, and with her brother, brought to the king, who treated her very kindly. In order to put an end to theſe diſputes, *Edward* entered *Wales* with a great army, and, at the ſame time, haraſſed the coaſt with his fleet, which brought the proud *Llewellin* ſo low, that he yielded to a peace on very hard terms; in conſequence of which, however, the king, from a royal generoſity, ſent him his wife [i]. Not long after he broke out again, and in conjunction with his brother *David*,

[h] Walter. Hemingford. Hiſtoria de Rebus geſtis Edw. i. Edw ii. et Edw iii. vol. p. 1,—4. Nic. Trivet. Annal vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Chronicon Godſtovianum. M. S p. 100. Mar. Weſtm. Chron Dunelm. * A. D 1276. [i] Walt. Hemingford. vol. p. 5. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 248.

vid, committed ſuch devaſtation in the *Engliſh* marches, that the king was obliged to turn on him the whole force of the kingdom, and, having ſlain him in battle, added *Wales* to his dominions, and declaring his young ſon *Edward*, juſt born at *Caernarvon*, prince thereof, put an end to the *Britiſh* line *. His policy in ſecuring his conqueſt, is worthy of obſervation; for firſt, to awe the people, he diſtributed the inland parts amongſt his nobility; and next, to prevent their giving in to the *Welch* cuſtoms, he eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* laws, and appointed ſheriffs, and other legal officers in thoſe parts; and laſtly, for his own ſecurity, which he judged depended on a naval force, he kept all the ports of the principality in his own hands, encouraging the inhabitants in their application to inland and foreign trade, more than any of their native princes had done [k], that they might become true ſubjects of an *Engliſh* king, free and rich.

In the ſeventeenth year of the king's reign, fell out the death of *Alexander* king of *Scots*, which afforded *Edward* another opportnnity of diſplaying his wiſdom, and of exending his power †. This prince had for his firſt wife, *Margaret* the king's ſiſter, by whom he had a ſon, who died young, and a daughter *Margaret*, who was married to the king of *Norway*, to whom alſo ſhe bore a daughter, called *Margaret* likewiſe, whom the *ſcotch* peers, with the conſent of king *Edward*, acknowledged for the heireſs of their crown. She, in her paſſage from *Norway*, went on ſhore in the *Orkneys*, and died there; whereupon, many

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* A. D. 1282. [k] Walt. Hemingford. vol. i. p. 8.—13. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 256.—259. Chron. Godſtovian. ubi ſupra. † A. D. 1289.

many competitors for the *Scotiſh* diadem appeared, who agreed to ſubmit the deciſion of their reſpective titles to king *Edward*. Theſe were, *Eric* king of *Norway*, *Florence* earl of *Holland*, *Robert le Brus* Lord of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Haſtings* Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Comyn* Lord of *Badenaugh*, *Patrick Dunbar* earl of *Marche*, *John de Veſci* for his father, *Nicholas de Soules*, and *William de Ros*. and great conſequences king *Edward* drew from this reference, which put the whole iſland into his power [l], and gave him a pretence for keeping a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips upon the northern coaſt, in right of his ſovereignty over thoſe ſeas, which, though always claimed, had not been exerciſed by ſome of his predeceſſors. After much conſultation, and with great ſolemnity, the king pronbunced his judgment in favour of *Baliol*, as deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of *David* earl of *Huntingdon* *, notwithſtanding *Robert le Brus* was ſomewhat nearer in deſcent, though by a younger daughter; and, therefore, holding himſelf injured, ſtill kept up his claim, which perhaps, was not diſagreeable to *Edward*, who thought nouriſhing diſſentions in that kingdom, neceſſary to preſerve peace in his own [m].

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe arduous affairs at home, king *Edward* was far from neglecting his concerns on the *Continent*, where he ſtill preſerved the dutchy of *Guienne*, and ſome other dominions, to which he paſſed over when occaſion required, and, contrary to the uſage of his predeceſſors,

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[l] John. de Fordun. Scotichron. vol. iii. p. 782. Walter Hemingford, vol. i, p. 29. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 267.
* A. D. 1292. [m] Walter Hemingford, v. i. p. 37, 38. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 273, 274. Hector. Boeeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv. Tho. Walſingham, &c.

ceſſors, took all imaginable care to preſerve the friendſhip of *France*, which in the end he found impracticable; and, that his rights were only to be defended by force [n]. An extraordinary act of *French* inſolence gave riſe to the bloody war which broke out in the twenty-firſt of king *Edward*'s reign *; and of which I ſhall give a diſtinct account from proper authorities. The firſt grounds of the quarrel are very differently reported, both by our own, and by foreign hiſtorians; but the relation given us by *Walter of Hemingford*, is more circumſtantial, and much more probable than any of the reſt, and, therefore from him (eſpecially as it has never appeared in *Engliſh*) we ſhall give it.

"In the year 1293, a fatal contention happened be-
"tween the *Engliſh* mariners of the *Cinque-Ports*, and
"the mariners of the *French* king in *Normandy*; which
"began thus. An *Engliſh* ſhip putting into a *Norman*
"port, remained there ſome days. While they lay at
"anchor, two ſeamen went to get freſh water, to a place
"not far diſtant from the ſhore, where they were inſulted
"by ſome *Normans* of their own profeſſion; ſo that co-
"ming from words to blows, one of the *Engliſhmen* was
"killed, and the other flying to the ſhip, related what
"had happened to his fellow ſailors, informing them, that
"the *Normans* were at his heels. Upon this they hoiſted
"ſail, and put to ſea; and, though the *Normans* follow-
"ed them, they nevertheleſs eſcaped, but with ſome diffi-
"culty; whereupon, the inhabitants of the *Engliſh* ports
"ſought aſſiſtance from their neighbours, and the enemy
on

[n] Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 777. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. p 274. Walſingham, &c. * A. D. 1293.

" on the other hand, retaining ſtill the ſame diſpoſition, in-
" creaſed their ſtrength daily, and chaſed all *Engliſh* ſhips.
" In theſe excurſions, having had the fortune to meet ſix,
" and to take two *Engliſh* veſſels, they killed the ſailors,
" hung up their bodies at the yard-arm, with as many
" dogs; ſailing in this manner for ſome time on their
" coaſts, and ſignifying to all the world thereby, that they
" made no difference between an *Engliſhman* and a dog.
" This, when it came to the ears of the inhabitants of
" the *Engliſh* ports, by the relation of thoſe that eſcaped,
" provoked them to take the beſt meaſure they could to
" revenge ſo ſignal an affront; and having in vain cruized
" at ſea, in order to find out the enemy, they entered
" the port of *Swyn*, and having killed and drowned abun-
" dance of men, carried of ſix ſhips: many acts of the
" like nature ſucceeding this on both ſides. At laſt, wea-
" ried by this pyratical war, they, by meſſengers who
" paſſed between them, fixed a certain day to decide this
" diſpute with their whole ſtrength. This day was the
" fourteenth of *April*: and a large empty ſhip was fixed
" in the middle, between the coaſts of *England* and *Nor-
" mandy*, to mark the place of engagement. The *En-
" gliſh* againſt the time appointed, procured ſome aids
" from *Ireland*, *Holland*, and other places; and the *Nor-
" mans* drew to their aſſiſtance, the *French*, *Flemings*, and
" *Genoeſe*. At the appointed day both parties met, full of
" reſolution; and, as their minds boiled with rage, ſo a
" like ſpirit ſeemed to agitate the elements: ſtorms of
" ſnow and hail, and boiſterous guſts of wind, were the
" preludes of an obſtinate battle, in which, at length, god
" gave the victory to us, many thouſands being ſlain, be-
" ſides thoſe who were drowned in a vaſt number of ſhips

" which

" which periſhed, the victorious *Engliſh* carrying off two " hundred and forty ſail, and with theſe they returned home.

" WHEN king *Philip* received this news, though his " brother *Charles* had been the author of the battle, yet " he ſent embaſſadors to the king of *England*, demanding " reparation for the wrong done him, by puniſhing ſuch " as were concerned, and by the payment of a vaſt ſum " for the loſſes which his merchants had ſuſtained. To " them the king prudently anſwered, that he would en- " quire into the matter, and return his reſolution by meſ- " ſengers of his own. Agreeable to his promiſe, he ſent " to deſire the *French* king, that a time and place might " be fixed for commiſſioners on both ſides to meet, and " enquire into the circumſtances of the fact, in order to " its being amicably adjuſted. But this the *French* king " refuſed, and by the advice of his nobility, ſummoned " the king of *England* to appear, and anſwer for what " had paſſed in his court, on a day aſſigned. The day " came, and the king not appearing, a new ſummons " was iſſued, wherein the king was cited to appear on an- " other day, under pain of forfeiting all his dominions be- " yond the ſeas. The king, before this day elapſed, ſent " his brother *Edmund* earl of *Lancaſter*, and the earl of " *Leiceſter*, with inſtructions for the making an end of " this buſineſs. Yet theſe embaſſadors, though they pro- " duced proper credentials, were not heard, or even ad- " mitted; but judgment was given, that the king ſhould " loſe *Acquitaine*, and all his tranſmarine dominions, for " his contempt in not appearing. °. "

SUCH

° Hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edward I. &c. vol. i. p. 39, 40, 41.

SUCH is the account given by *Hemingford*, which is clear and exact, and very agreeable to what we find in the beſt *French* authors; particularly *Mezeray*, who very candidly relates, and very honeſtly blames, this violent procedure [p]. But what followed was ſo very baſe, that, though I own it is ſomewhat beſide my purpoſe, I cannot help relating it *. By the interpoſition of the *French* queens, a treaty was ſet on foot with prince *Edmund*, for the accommodating all differences. By this treaty it was agreed, that to ſave the honour of king *Philip*, a few *French* troops ſhould be admitted into certain forts and cities; and that, after this mark of ſubmiſſion, they ſhould be withdrawn, and letters of ſafe conduct being granted to king *Edward*, he ſhould paſs the ſeas, and ſettle all things in a perſonal conference with the *French* king, the troops to be withdrawn, and the ſentence vacated in forty days, in conſequence of the before-mentioned ſubmiſſion. All this being fairly executed by king *Edward*, when the time was elapſed, and the *French* troops were required to evacuate the towns, king *Philip* roundly declared, that he was unacquainted with the treaty, and, that he would by no means comply therewith [q]. Such was the policy of *France* of old; and ſuch the honourable means by which her monarchy was extended!

THE reſentment of the king for this treatment ſhewed itſelf in various treaties with foreign princes; as alſo, by ſending a ſpeedy relief to *Gaſcony*, under his nephew the earl of *Richmond*, attended by lord St. *John*, and admiral

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[p] Abbregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, vol. ii. p. 777. * A. D.
[q] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 42, 43. Nic. Trivet. Ann. vol. i. p. 276, 277. Holingſhead's Chronicle.

miral *Tiptoft* [t]. At the ſame time, to ſecure the ſeas, and prevent any deſcents on his coaſt, the king fitted out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition. One from *Yarmouth*, which was commanded by *John de Botecourt*; another from *Portſmouth*, under the direction of *William de Leibourne*; the third, which had the care of the weſtern coaſt, under the command of a valiant knight of *Ireland* [u]. In ſome of the copies of *Trivet*'s annals, he is ſaid to be of the illuſtrious houſe of *Ormonde* [x]. All of theſe fleets did good ſervice. That of *Portſmouth*, about *Michaelmas*, ſailed into the mouth of *Garonne* [y], and having debarked the troops on board, took ſeveral places from the *French* [z]. Yet the next year, the *French* king having hired a great fleet, ſome of our writers ſay not leſs than three hundred ſail, they ſtood over to the *Engliſh* coaſt, and landing the troops on board ſuddenly near *Dover*, by the aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Turberville* a traitor, took the town †, and burnt it, but were quickly afterwards forced to fly to their ſhips, with the loſs of eight hundred men [a]. In the mean time the *Yarmouth* fleet made a deſcent in *Normandy*, and burnt the town of *Gherburg*, and ſpoiled a rich abby [b]. The *Portſmouth* ſquadron alſo on the coaſt of *Flanders*, took fifteen ſail of *Spaniſh* merchant men richly laden, and brought them into *Sandwich* [c]. To balance this, there happened an unlucky

[t] Nic. Trivet Annal. vol. i. p. 279. Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 51. Hiſtoire de France, par J. de Serres, p. 174. [u] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 279. [x] See the MS. of Trivet, in the library of Merton-College in Oxford. [y] A. D. 1294. [z] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 56. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 280. † A. D. 1295. [a] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 59. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 284, 285. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 789. [b] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 284. [c] Id. ibid.

lucky accident at *Berwick* *, where the *Engliſh* fleet raſhly entering the harbour, the *Scots* deſtroyed four ſhips, and the reſt, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped [a].

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king made great preparations for invading *Flanders*, and, notwithſtanding he met with many interruptions from his barons and clergy, yet by the latter end of *Auguſt*, he ſailed from *Winchelſea* with a mighty fleet, having a land army of between fifty and ſixty thouſand men on board, and landed at *Sluys* in *Flanders*, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month †, where a very unlucky accident fell out: the ſquadron from the cinque ports, quarrelling with the *Yarmouth* mariners, ſuddenly fell to blows; ſo that, notwithſtanding the king's interpoſition, a deſperate engagement followed, wherein twenty ſhips of the *Yarmouth* ſquadron were burnt, and moſt of the men on board them loſt, and three of the largeſt ſhips in the navy, one of which had the king's treaſure on board, were driven out to ſea, and with much difficulty eſcaped ‡ [a]. This was an ill beginning, and indeed nothing anſwerable to the force employed therein, was done through the whole expedition; yet, in one reſpect, they were fortunate; for the *French* having laid a ſcheme for burning the whole *Engliſh* fleet in the harbour of *Dam*, it was luckily diſcovered, and the *Engliſh* fleet putting to ſea, eſcaped [a]. The king's confederates abroad alſo fell from their promiſes, and the *Flemings*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the *Engliſh* came, making a ſudden defection, the king was next year obliged to re-

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* A. D. 1296.
† A. D. 1297.
[a] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90.
[a] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 304. Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 146.
[a] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 305.

turn to *England*, as well on account of theſe miſcarriages as to quiet his barons, and to repreſs the *Scots*, who, at the inſtagation of the *French*, took up arms, and invaded the kingdom [b].

THE king, according to his diſpoſition of entertaining peace on the continent, if poſſible, while he had affairs of moment to employ him nearer home, was content, notwithſtanding the injuries he received, to make a peace with king *Philip*; which in the 27th year of his reign * was confirmed [c]; and by the mediation of pope *Boniface* VIII. made more explicit by a treaty, wherein it was ſtipulated, that the king of *England* ſhould marry the *French* king's ſiſter, and his ſon, prince *Edward*, the daughter of the ſaid king; and that the dutchy of *Aquitaine*, ſhould be put into the hands of the pope, until the matters in difference between the two kings, ſhould be enquired into, and ſettled; with many other articles, to be ſeen at large in Mr. *Rymer*'s collection [d]. This truce, indifferently performed on the part of the *French*, ſubſiſted to the 30th year of the king †, and then a peace was concluded between the two crowns, of which, the third article contained a reciprocal engagement, that neither of the contracting parties ſhould afford any manner of aid, or aſſiſtance, to the enemies of the other, or ſuffer the ſame to be given, in any way whatever, in any of the territories or places under their power; and that they ſhould forbid the ſame to be done on pain of forfeiture of body and goods to the offenders, *&c.* I mention this article

[b] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 148. * A. D. 1299. [c] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 168, 169. Annal. Abington. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 314, 315. [d] Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 840. † A. D. 1303.

ticle particularly, becauſe in conſequence of it, there fell out the cleareſt proof of the king of *England*'s abſolute ſovereignty of the ſea, that could be deſired or wiſhed. A clearer proof, perhaps, than the whole world can ſhew, in reſpect to the prerogative of a prince, with regard to other princes [c]. It happened thus:

THE war ſtill continuing between *Philip the Fair* and the *Flemings*, that prince thought fit to ſend a great fleet to ſea, under the command of a *Genoeſe* nobleman, whoſe name was *Rayner Grimbaldi* (moſt of our writers call him *Grimbaldz*) to whom he gave the title of admiral; and who, under colour of this commiſſion, took ſeveral ſhips of different nations, bound for the ports of *Flanders*, laden with various kinds of goods. Upon this, complaints were made to the kings of *England* and *France*, who, jointly appointed commiſſioners to hear and determine the matters contained in them. To theſe commiſſioners, therefore, a remonſtrance was preſented in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the *Engliſh* ſeas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewiſe of the merchants, mariners, ſtrangers reſident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of *England*, and other territories, ſubject to the ſaid king of *England*; as alſo, the inhabitants of other maritime places, ſuch as *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Prizeland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. ſetting forth, that whereas the kings of *England*, by right of the ſaid kingdom, have, from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the *Engliſh* ſeas, and

[c] Ibid. p. 941.

and of the iſlands ſituate within the ſame, with power of ordaining and eſtabliſhing laws, ſtatutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ſhips otherwiſe furniſhed than merchantmen uſed to be; and of taking ſecurity, and giving protection in all caſes, where need ſhall require, and of ordering all other things neceſſary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, paſſing through the ſaid ſeas, and the ſovereign guard thereof; and alſo, of taking all manner of cognizance in cauſes, and of doing right and juſtice to high and low, according to the ſaid laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which to the exerciſe of ſovereign juriſdiction in the places aforeſaid may appertain: and whereas, *A.* de *B.* (lord *Coke*[f] ſays, his name was *de Botetort*) admiral of the ſaid ſea, deputed by the ſaid king of *England*, and all other admirals, deputed by the ſaid king of *England*, and his anceſtors, formerly kings of *England*, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid ſovereign guard, with power of juriſdiction, and all the other powers beforementioned (except in caſe of appeal, and complaint made of them to their ſovereigns, the kings of *England*, in default of juſtice, or for evil judgment) and eſpecially of making prohibitions, doing juſtice, and taking ſecurity for good behaviour, from all manner of people carrying arms on the ſaid ſea, or ſailing in ſhips, otherwiſe fitted out, and armed, than merchant-ſhips uſed to be, and in all other caſes, where a man may have reaſonable cauſe of ſuſpicion towards them of pyracy, or other miſdoings. And, whereas the maſters of ſhips, of the ſaid kingdom of *England*,

[f] Inſtit. lib. iv. c. 22.

land, in the abſence of the ſaid admirals, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the ſaid ſea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, ſtatutes, prohibitions, franchiſes, and cuſtoms. And, whereas, in the firſt article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the ſaid kings at *Paris*, the words following are ſet down, *viz.* Firſt of all, it is agreed, and concluded between us, the envoys and agents abovementioned, in the names of the ſaid kings, that they ſhall be to each other for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies againſt all the world, (except the church of *Rome*) in ſuch manner, that if any one or more, whoſoever they be, ſhall go about to interrupt, hinder, or moleſt the ſaid kings in the franchiſes, liberties, privileges, rights or cuſtoms of them and their kingdoms, they ſhall be good and faithful friends, and aiding againſt all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain the abovementioned franchiſes, liberties, rights and cuſtoms, *&c.* And that the one ſhall not be of counſel, nor give aid or aſſiſtance in any thing whereby the other may loſe life, limb, eſtate, or honour. And, whereas Mr. *Reyner Grimbaltz*, maſter of the ſhips of the ſaid king of *France*, who calls himſelf admiral of the ſaid ſea, being deputed by his ſovereign aforeſaid, in his war againſt the *Flemings*, did (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and againſt the tenour and obligation of the ſaid alliance, and the invention of thoſe who made it) wrongfully aſſume and exerciſe the office of admiral, in the ſaid ſea of *England*, above the ſpace of a year, by commiſſion from the ſaid king of *France*, taking the ſubjects, and merchants of the kingdom of *England*, and of other countries, paſſing upon the ſaid ſeas, with their goods, and did caſt the men ſo taken,

taken, into the priſons of his ſaid maſter, the king of *France*, and by his own judgment and award, did cauſe to be delivered, their goods and merchandizes to receivers eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, in the ſea-ports of the ſaid king, as forfeit and confiſcate to him; and his taking and detaining the ſaid men with their ſaid goods and merchandizes, and his judgment and award on them as forfeit and confiſcate, hath pretended in writing to juſtify before you, the lords commiſſioners, by authority of the aforeſaid commiſſion for the office of admiral by him thus uſurped, and againſt the general prohibition made by the king of *England*, in places within his power, in purſuance of the third article of the before-mentioned alliance, containing the words above-written, and hath therefore required, that he may be acquitted and abſolved of the ſame; to the great damage and prejudice of the ſaid king of *England*, and of the prelates, nobles, and others before-mentioned; wherefore, the ſaid procurators do, in the names of their ſaid lords, pray you, the lords commiſſioners before-mentioned, that due and ſpeedy delivery of the ſaid men, ſhips, goods and merchandizes, ſo taken and detained, may be made to the admiral of the ſaid king of *England*, to whom the cognizance of this matter doth rightfully appertain, as is aboveſaid, that ſo, without diſturbance from you, or any one elſe, he may take cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforeſaid office; and that the aforeſaid Mr. *Reyner* may be condemned, and conſtrained to make due ſatisfaction for all the ſaid damages, ſo far forth as he ſhall be able to do the ſame; and in default thereof, his ſaid maſter, the king of *France*, by whom he was deputed to the ſaid office, and that, after due ſatisfaction ſhall be made for the ſaid damages, the ſaid Mr. *Reyner* may be ſo duly puniſhed for the violation

of the ſaid allowance, as that the ſame may be an example to others, for time to come [r].

THUS far the remonſtrance: on which other writers having largely inſiſted, let us content ourſelves with making a few obvious reflections. I. It appears from this paper, that the dominion of the ſea had not only been claimed, but exerciſed and poſſeſſed by the kings of *England*, for time immemorial which is ſufficient to give ſome credit to the facts related from the *Britiſh* hiſtory; for as to the times ſince the *Roman* invaſion, they were in an hiſtorical ſenſe within memory. II. It is clear from hence, what the dominion of the ſea was, *viz.* A juriſdiction over the veſſels of all nations paſſing thereon for the common benefit of all, for the preventing pyracies, the protection of commerce, and the deciſion of unforeſeen diſputes. III. It is no leſs apparent, that this was an excluſive juriſdiction, in which no other potentate had any ſhare, which muſt have been founded either in common conſent, or in ſuperiority of ſtrength; either of which afforded a good title. IV. We ſee by this remonſtrance, that the dominion of the ſea reſting in the king of *England*, was a point not only known to, but maintained by the *Genoeſe*, *Spaniards*, *Germans*, *Hollanders*, *Danes*, and in ſhort, by all the maritime powers then in *Europe*, which is ſufficient to evince, that trade was far from being then at a low ebb, and that the prerogative of the crown of *England* in this reſpect, had been hitherto ſo exerciſed, as to render it a common advantage. V. We perceive that foreigners were ſo jealous of the aſſuming

[r] Selden. Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 27, 28. Coke's Inſtit. lib. iv. cap. 22.

ing temper of the *French* princes, that they would not admit the commander in chief of their naval force, to bear the title of admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to juriſdiction, and therefore would have this *Reyner Grimbaltz* ſtiled only maſter of the ſhips to the king of *France*. VI. We muſt obſerve, that the commiſſioners to whom this remonſtrance is addreſſed, neither had, nor claimed any naval juriſdiction whatſoever, but were appointed to hear and determine whether king *Edward*'s prerogative, as ſovereign of the ſea, had been invaded by this *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in contravention of the firſt article of the treaty between the crowns of *England* and *France*, whereby, the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives, and conſequently the *French* king was bound to maintain this prerogative of king *Edward*, which gave occaſion to the commiſſion. VII. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair not to our hiſtorians, but to our records: whence we may ſafely deduce this conſequence, that the want of facts to ſupport ſuch a juriſdiction throughout preceeding reigns, ought not to be urged as a juſt objection; becauſe, as I once before hinted, moſt of thoſe who applied themſelves to writing hiſtory, were very little acquainted with theſe matters.

But there is one thing more relating to this affair which deſerves particular attention; and that is, the plea put in by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in anſwer to this remonſtrance. He did not diſpute the king of *England*'s ſovereignty; he did not plead any power derived to himſelf from the *French* king's commiſſion: but what he inſiſted upon, was the third article of the treaty before-mentioned, which he would have to be thus underſtood: that king *Edward* having contracted not to give any aid or aſſiſtance, or to ſuffer any aid or aſſiſtance to be given to the

enemies of king *Philip*, and having alſo actually iſſued out a prohibition, forbidding any ſuch practices, it followed, in his opinion, that all ſuch, as after this prohibition, relieved the *Flemings*, by merchandize or otherwiſe, were to be eſteemed enemies, of whatſoever nation they were; and that he having taken none but the perſons and goods of ſuch, conceived himſelf to have a permiſſion ſo to do by vertue of the ſaid prohibition, whereby king *Edward*, according to his interpretation, had ſignified that he would not take it as an injury done to him, although the ſhips of ſuch offenders ſhould be taken in his ſeas by the *French* king's officers. I ſhall not enter into the reaſonableneſs or validity of this defence, the iſſue of which is not known, but content myſelf with obſerving, that it contains the cleareſt conceſſion on the part of *France* that can be deſired; becauſe this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commiſſion of the prince he ſerved, but from the king of *England*'s prohibition; ſo that in reality, he aſſerts himſelf to have acted under the *Engliſh* ſovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal [1].

MANY other inſtances of this king's claiming and exerciſing the ſovereignty of the ſea might be produced, if they were at all neceſſary; but as at that time the title of our kings was no way conteſted, it is not neceſſary to detain the reader longer on this head. The remainder of his life was ſpent in ſubduing *Scotland*, on which he had particularly ſet his heart, as appears by his directing his dead body to be carried about that country, till every part of it was brought under his ſon's dominion. In this tem-

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[1] Selden. ubi ſupri. Molloy. de Jure Maritimo. chap. v.

per of mind he died in a manner in the field; for he cauſed himſelf to be carried from *Carliſle*, to a village called *Burgh upon Sands*, where he deceaſed on the ſeventeenth of *July* 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixty-ninth of his age [k]. He was undoubtedly one of the braveſt, and moſt politic princes, that ever ſat on the *Engliſh* throne. He rightly judged, that he could never be formidable abroad, till he had eſtabliſhed unanimity at home; which was the reaſon that, at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure, he annexed *Wales* for ever to his dominions, and endeavoured with ſuch earneſtneſs, to add *Scotland* to them likewiſe; which, if he had lived, he would in all probability have done; and then, no doubt, the *French* would have felt the weight of his whole power: for though he was too wiſe to be diverted from the proſecution of his deſigns, by any of the arts of his enemies, yet was he a monarch of too great ſpirit to bear the injuſtice done him by *France*, longer than the ſituation of his affairs required. As he ſet the ſtate in order at his firſt coming to the throne, ſo he left the government thoroughly eſtabliſhed at the time of his deceaſe, which with a numerous army, and potent fleet, he conſigned to his ſon, who reſembled him very little either in his virtue or his fortune.

EDWARD II. ſucceeded his father in the throne with the general ſatisfaction of the nation. His firſt care was to ſolemnize the marriage concluded for him by his father, with the princeſs *Iſabella*, daughter to the *French* king;

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[k] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 346, 347. Chron. Godſtovian. p. 104. T. Walſingham. Thom. Sprot. Chronic.

king; and for that purpoſe he paſſed the ſeas, and went to *Paris*, where he was very magnificently received, and the ceremony of his nuptials was performed with extraordinary ſplendor. His marriage over, he returned to *England* with his new queen, and was crowned on the feaſt of St. *Matthias*, with all imaginable teſtimonies of joy and affection from the people *. But this fair weather was ſoon over; for he ſhortly after bringing back his favourite, called by moſt of our writers *Gaveſton*, but whoſe true name ſeems to have been *Piers*, or *Peter de Gaberſton*, a *Gaſcon*; the barons took ſuch an offence thereat, and at the extravagant marks of royal favour he afterwards met with, that more than one civil war happened upon his account, and hindered the king from applying himſelf to the care of his concerns abroad, as well as the nobility from rendering him thoſe ſervices to which they were heartily inclined. Theſe jealouſies and diſputes ended not but with the death of the king's minion, by whom they were occaſioned, and who falling into the hands of the lords, had his head ſtruck off, without any form of juſtice. It is highly probable, that the *French* counſellors about the queen, were the chief inſtigators of this fact, at leaſt as to the manner of doing it, and yet, after it was done, they inflamed the king's diſcontents, and by thus dividing this nation, kept their own quiet [1].

In the year 1313, *Robert le Brus* king of *Scotland* invaded *England* with a great army, which roused the king from his lethargy, and obliged him to provide for the nation's ſafety, and his own honour. The next year, therefore,

* A. D. 1308. [1] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 242. Contin. Annal. Nic. Trivet. per Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 5. Thom. Walſingh. Mezeray.

therefore, he aſſembled the whole ſtrength of the nation, and marched therewith northward, intending to have reduced the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his father's directions upon his death-bed. But the diſaſters which always attend princes, when on ill terms with their ſubjects, waited on this unfortunate expedition; ſo that in a general engagement on the twenty-fourth of *June* 1314, the *Engliſh* were entirely defeated, though the king diſcovered much perſonal courage, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to fly. He certainly meant to have attempted at leaſt the repairing this misfortune, by invading *Scotland* with a new army; but his reputation was ſo much injured by his late defeat, and his nobility were ſo unwilling to fight under his banners [m], that all his endeavours came to nothing, and he had beſides the misfortune to ſee, not only the northern parts of *England* ravaged, but *Ireland* alſo invaded by the *Scots*, whom his father had left in ſo low a condition, and ſo little likely to defend their own inſtead of offending others.

THIS deſign of the *Scots* upon *Ireland*, was very deeply laid, and nothing leſs was intended than an entire conqueſt of the iſland. For this purpoſe, king *Robert le Brus*, ſent over his brother *Edward*, who took upon him the title of king of *Ireland*, and who landed in the north with ſix thouſand men, attended by the earls of *Murray* and *Monteth*, lord *John Stuart*, lord *John Campbell*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, and by the aſſiſtance of the native *Iriſh*, quickly reduced a great part of the country. This war laſted ſeveral years, king *Robert* going over there

[m] Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 15. Hector. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. Thom. Walſingham.

there at laſt in perſon, and in all probability had carried his point, if it had not been for the haſty temper of his brother. Sir *Edmund Butler* in the beginning of theſe ſtirs, had, with the *Engliſh* forces, done all that in a very diſtracted ſtate of affairs could be done for the preſervation of the iſland, till ſuch time as the king ſent over lord *Roger Mortimer*, with a very ſmall force to repreſs the invaders, who engaging *Edward le Brus*, in the famous battle of *Armagh*, which the *Scots* very imprudently fought before they were joined by king *Robert* and his forces; the *Engliſh* gained a compleat victory [n], the pretended king *Edward* being ſlain upon the ſpot, his head carried by the lord *Birmingham* into *England*, and there preſented to king *Edward* *. After this, all matters in *Ireland* were ſo well ſettled, that the king had thoughts of retiring thither, when ſinking under his misfortunes; and had probably done ſo, if he had remained maſter of the ſea.

THE king drew theſe troubles upon himſelf, by ſuffering his new favourites, the *Spencers*, to guide him in all things, he equally diſguſted his nobility, and his own family. A diſhonourable treaty he had made with *Scotland*, was another ground of diſcontent, and while things went ſo ill at home, there wanted not ſome cauſes of diſquiet abroad. *Charles* IV. of *France*, brother to queen *Iſabel*, pretending to take umbrage at king *Edward*'s not aſſiſting at his coronation, ſent his uncle *Charles de Valois* into *Guyenne*, a great part of which he quickly reduced, and grievouſly diſtreſſed *Edmund* earl of *Kent*, the king's brother, who was ſent over to defend that province; inſomuch,

[n] Chron. Hibern. Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 29.

* A. D. 1318.

inſomuch, that he agreed with the *French* General to come over, and perſuade his brother to give king *Charles* ſatisfaction, or elſe to render himſelf, if the king of *England* was inflexible, priſoner of war; by which capitulation he preſerved the few towns the *Engliſh* ſtill had in *Guyenne*, though he thereby paved the way, perhaps involuntarily, for his unfortunate brother's depoſition and deſtruction [o].

As ſoon as king *Edward* was informed of what had paſſed, he took it extremely to heart, baniſhed the *French* who were about the perſon of the queen, and had thoughts of entering immediately into a war with that crown. But finding it impoſſible to obtain ſupplies from his parliament, he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and reſolved to ſend over queen *Iſabella*, to treat with her brother, and to endeavour to accommodate the differences which had happened between them, and thither ſhe accordingly went. By her application, the *French* king was not only drawn to paſs by what had given him offence, but was likewiſe induced to give the dukedom of *Aquitaine*, and the earldom of *Poictou*, to prince *Edward* his nephew, on condition that he came and did him homage for them in perſon; though to preſerve appearances, letters of ſafe conduct were alſo ſent to the king, that he, in caſe he ſo thought fit, might have alſo gone over into *France*, and taken poſſeſſion of thoſe countries [p]. When king *Edward* had conſidered theſe conditions, and had conſulted with his favourites, he reſolved to ſend over the prince to his mother, in order to the due execution of the treaty. This was all that the queen and her party wanted; for no ſooner was the heir of the crown

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[o] Mezeray, Thom. Walſingham. Tom. iv. p. 195. Mezeray.

[p] Rymer's Fœder.

crown in *France* under their tuition, than immediately they began to negotiate a treaty of marriage between him and the daughter of the earl of *Hainault*, directly contrary to his father's inſtructions; and at the ſame time, made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading *England*, as ſoon as this marriage was brought about [q]. The king having intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſent poſitive orders to the queen and his ſon to return home, and on their refuſal, proclaimed them enemies to the kingdom, and at the ſame time began to act vigorouſly againſt *France*, ſending orders to his admiral, to cruize on the *French* coaſts; particularly to the conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle*, and warden of the cinque ports, who executed his commands ſo effectually, that, in a ſhort time, a hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips belonging to *Normandy*, were brought into the *Engliſh* ports [r]. This had ſuch an effect upon king *Charles*, that, in appearance at leaſt, he abandoned his ſiſter *; though a *French* hiſtorian intimates, that it was rather occaſioned by her too great familiarity with *Roger* lord *Mortimer*. However it was, the queen retired firſt into *Guyenne*, and went thence with her ſon the prince to the court of the earl of *Hainault*, where ſhe openly proſecuted her deſign of attacking her huſband, in ſupport of which ſhe had formed a ſtrong party in *England*. The king, on his ſide, provided the beſt he could for his defence, which, however, did not hinder her landing with three thouſand men at *Orewell* in *Suffolk*, a little before *Michaelmas*. An inconſiderable force, in proportion to the deſign; and yet it is hard to conceive,

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[q] Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 63. Thom. de la Moor vit. Edward II. Thom. Walſingham. [r] Polydor. Vergil. lib. xviii. Thom. Walſingham. Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ. Mezeray. * A. D. 1326.

conceive, how even, theſe were landed without the connivance at leaſt of ſuch as had the command of the king's fleet, which may with the greater reaſon be ſuſpected, ſince immediately after her arrival, the earl of *Lancaſter*, and moſt of the nobility came in to her aſſiſtance; ſo that the king finding himſelf deſerted, was forced to retire, or rather was compelled to fly into *Wales*; but finding himſelf abandoned by thoſe about him, he went on board a ſmall ſhip, intending to retire to *Ireland*; but after toſſing to and fro a whole week, he landed again in *Glamorganſhire*, where for ſome time he lay hid. At laſt being diſcovered, he was carried priſoner to *Monmouth*, and thence to *Kenilworth-Caſtle*, belonging to the earl of *Lancaſter*, where he remained till his queen and the counſellors about her, took a reſolution of forcing him to reſign his crown, which by authority of parliament was placed on the head of his ſon [a]. After this he ſurvived not long, but was conveyed from place to place, under the cuſtody of *Gournay* and *Mattravers*, who, in the end, brought him to *Berkley-Caſtle*, where he was baſely murdered on the 21ſt of *September*, 1322, when he had reigned twenty years, and with very ſmall ceremony was buried at *Glouceſter* [b]. With the character of this prince, we ſhall meddle very little; his enemies have left us reports enough in relation to his vices, and we have alſo ſome accounts of him from leſs prejudiced pens. As to maritime affairs, during his reign, they were certainly on the decline, as they will always be, when the ſtate is diſcompoſed. Yet, as far as the

[a] Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 69. Thom. Walſingham. Th. de la Moor. [b] Chron. Godſtovian. p. 109. Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 70. Thom. Walſingham. Thom. de la Moor. Barnes's Hiſtory of Edw. III.

the diſtractions in his affairs would give him leave, he ſhewed himſelf a friend to trade, and remarkably careful of wool, the ſtaple commodity of the kingdom, as appears by his charter granted for that purpoſe, and other authentic proofs [u].

EDWARD III. called, from his birth-place, *Edward of Windſor*, aſcended the throne in his father's life-time, being entirely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite *Roger Mortimer* *. He married, *Philippa* daughter to the earl of *Hainault*, who was alſo crowned queen. In the beginning of his reign, there happened many things which were far from promiſing ſo glorious a government as afterwards followed. For, firſt, he made an unfortunate war againſt the *Scots*, which was followed by a diſadvantagious treaty; then paſſing over into *France*, he, by the advice of his mother and her counſellors, did homage to *Philip* ſon of *Charles de Valois*, then ſtiling himſelf king, to the prejudice of his own title to that crown. We may add to this, the cutting off his uncle *Edmund* earl of *Kent*'s head, for a pretended treaſon, for endeavouring to ſet his brother, king *Edward*, on the throne again; though it was well known he was dead. But, as by degrees he began to act according to his own ſentiments, he eaſily wiped off theſe imputations, due rather to the tenderneſs of his age, than to any fault of his mind. For, in the fourth year of his reign, when the king himſelf was but twenty years of age, he, at a parliament held at *Nottingham*, went in perſon, and at the hazard of his life, ſeized *Mortimer* in his mother's bed-chamber †, cauſed him to be carried to *London*,

[u] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. * A. D. 1328. † A. D. 1330.

don, where, by his death, he, in ſome meaſure, attoned for the crimes he had committed in his life-time [w].

HENCEFORWARD, king *Edward* ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of his kingdom at his heart. He firſt turned his arms againſt the *Scots*, who had done incredible miſchiefs in the north, and reſolving to repair the diſhonour he had ſuſtained, during the weak adminiſtration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet for the invaſion of that country; and though the latter ſuffered grievouſly, by ſtorm on the *Scotiſh* coaſt, whereby moſt of his great ſhips were wrecked, and the reſt rendered unſerviceable, yet he perſiſted in his deſign, of expelling *David Brus*, and reſtoring *Edward Baliol*, which, at length, with infinite labour he effected, and received homage from the ſaid *Edward*, as his grandfather *Edward* I. had from *John Baliol* [x]. *David Brus*, who had ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Scotland*, retiring into *France*, with his queen, where they were kindly received. In this ſtep of ſecuring *Scotland*, previous to any expeditions beyond the ſeas, king *Edward* imitated his grandfather, as he ſeems to have done in moſt of his ſubſequent undertakings, havings always a ſpecial regard to the maintenance of a ſtout fleet, and ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion, as well as title of lord of the ſeas, which enabled him to aſſert, whenever he thought fit, his rights abroad, and effectally ſecured him from apprehending any thing from the efforts of his enemies at home. While he was laying theſe ſolid foundations of power, he thought it not at all beneath him, to make

[w] Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 76. Walter de Hemingford. vol. ii. p. 271. Chron. Godſtovian. p. 110. Robert de Avelbury, Hiſt. Edvardi iii. p. 8, 9. [x] A. D. 1334.

make uſe of ſuch temporary expedients as were proper to ſerve his purpoſe, and to enable him to maintain his right to the crown of *France*, whenever he ſhould think fit to claim it [a].

As this war was of great importance to the nation, as as well as to the king, and carried our naval force to a greater height than ever it arrived at before, it will be neceſſary to enter into a diſtinct, though conciſe detail of its cauſes, as well as of the circumſtances attending it. *Philip the Fair*, king of *France*, left behind him at his deceaſe, three ſons, who all ſwayed the ſcepter of that kingdom in their turns. The eldeſt of theſe, *Lewis* X. reigned twenty-ſix years, leaving his queen big with child, who, after his deceaſe, brought forth a ſon, called *John*; but the child died at a week old, and *Philip*, the late king's brother, ſucceeded, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years. On his demiſe, *Charles* IV. ſur-named *the Fair*, claimed and enjoyed the crown twenty-eight years, and deceaſing in the year 1328, left his queen *Jane* pregnant, who was afterwards delivered of a daughter named *Blanch*, and immediately thereupon, king *Edward* ſet up his title to the ſucceſſion; thus, he acknowledged, that the ſalique law excluded the females; but he maintained, that the males deſcending from thoſe females, were not excluded by that law, becauſe the reaſon whereon it was founded did not reach them. The Peers of *France*, however, decided againſt him, and acknowledged *Philip de Valois*, couſin to the deceaſed prince, as the next heir male, and ſeated him on the throne. This was in 1328, and king *Edward* being at that time in no condition to vindicate his rights by force, ſeemed

[a] Adam. Murimuth. Robert de Ayeſbury. Walter Hemingford.

ſeemed to acquieſce, and afterwards being ſummoned to do his homage for the countries he held in *France*, he made no difficulty, as we before obſerved, of complying, and even performed it in perſon with great magnificence [1].

BUT afterwards, being better informed as to the validity of his pretenſions, and finding that foreign princes were ready to abet his claim, he reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms, in caſe he could obtain it no other way. With this view, he entered into a treaty with the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the earl of *Hainault*, the duke of *Brabant*, and other princes, and having proceeded thus far, the king next wrote letters to the pope and cardinals, ſetting forth the injury that was done him, and his reſolution to do himſelf juſtice. At length, theſe previous endeavours having ſerved no other purpoſe, than that of giving the *French* king time to ſtrengthen himſelf, *Edward*, by the duke of *Brabant*, made his claim to the *French* crown, and ſpent the next winter in diſpoſing all things for the obtaining it by force, iſſuing his orders for raiſing a very numerous army, and for drawing together a great fleet; his allies, in like manner, ſending their defiances to the *French* king, and making great preparations for the fulfilling their promiſes to the king of *England*, which nevertheleſs they did but ſlenderly [2]. And thus was this great war begun, in ſpeaking of which, we ſhall concern ourſelves no farther than with the naval expeditions on both ſides.

THE principal confederate, or at leaſt, the confederate of principal uſe to our monarch, was *James Arteville*, a brewer of *Ghent*; for this man ſo well ſeconded the king's

1 Mezeray Abregé de Hiſtoire de France, vol. iii. p. 3—12. Rob. de Aveſbury. Adam. Murimuth. &c.

endeavours, that he drew to him the hearts of the *Flemings*, whom king *Edward* had already made ſenſible of the importance of the *Engliſh* Friendſhip, by detaining from them his wool [a]. However, they durſt not ſhew their inclinations till ſuch time as the king ſent the earl of *Darby* with a conſiderable force, who made themſelves maſters of the iſle of *Cadſant*; upon which, moſt of the great cities in *Flanders* declared againſt the *French*, and invited king *Edward* thither [b]. The *French*, however, ſtruck the firſt blow at ſea; for, having, under colour of ſending relief to the chriſtians in the *Holy-Land*, aſſembled a ſquadron of large ſhips, they ſent them over to the *Engliſh* coaſt, where they took and burnt *Southampton*; and yet, in their retreat, they loſt three hundred men, and the ſon of the king of *Sicily*, who commanded them [c]; ſo that, upon the whole, this could ſcarce be ſtiled an advantage.

In 1338, king *Edward*, by the middle of *July*, drew his numerous army down to the coaſt of *Suffolk*, and at *Orewell*, embarked them on board a fleet of five hundred ſail, with which he paſſed over to *Antwerp*. On his arrival, he was received with great joy by his allies, particularly the emperor *Lewis*; but the ſubſidies he paid them, were exceſſive, nor could he immediately make uſe of their aſſiſtance, the *French* king declining a battle [d]. In the mean time, by the advice of the *Flemings*, he aſſumed the arms and title of king of *France*; but while the king ſpent his

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[a] Chroniques de Flandres par J. Meir. Inventaire gen. de l'Hiſt. de Franc. par J. de Serres. Mezeray. [b] T. Walſingham. Froiſſard. J. de Serres. Mezeray. [c] Thom. Walſingham. The king, in his letters to the pope, takes notice of the ſhips being thoſe intended for the Holy Land. [d] Continuat. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 95. Walter Hemingford. vol. ii. p. 282. Mezeray.

his time in marches and counter-marches, in which, however, he gained ſome advantages over the enemy; the *French*, and their allies, the *Scots*, did a great deal of miſchief on the *Engliſh* coaſts with their fleet [e]. The town of *Haſtings* they deſtroyed, alarmed all the weſtern coaſt, burnt *Plymouth*, and inſulted *Briſtol* *, all which was owing to the king's employing the greateſt part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the *Scots*. Yet in two inſtances, the *Engliſh* valour and naval force appeared with great luſtre. A ſquadron of thirteen ſail of *French* ſhips attacked five *Engliſh*, who defended themſelves ſo valiantly, that, though they loſt the *Edward* and the *Criſtopher*, two of the largeſt, yet the other three eſcaped, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy [f]. The mariners of the *Cinque-Ports* alſo taking advantage of a thick fog, manned out all their ſmall craft, and ran over to *Bulloigne*, where they did notable ſervice, for they not only burnt the lower town, but deſtroyed four large ſhips, nineteen gallies, and twenty leſſer veſſels, which lay in the harbour, and conſumed the dock and arſenal, filled with naval ſtores [g].

In 1340, king *Edward* returned to *England*, in the month of *February*, in order to hold a parliament, to provide for the expences of the war, wherein he ſucceeded to the utmoſt of his expectations, and in return for the readineſs expreſſed by his ſubjects to aſſiſt him, he made many good laws, and granted great privi-

[e] Robert de Aveſbury, Hiſt Edwardi. iii. p. 41. Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 95. Froiſſard. Thom. Walſingham. * A. D. 1339. [f] Thom. Walſingham. Froiſſard, &c. [g] Holingſhed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 357.

leges to merchants [b]. After this, with a ſtrong fleet, he paſſed over into *Flanders*, and gave the *French* a terrible defeat at ſea. As this is one of the moſt remarkable events in this period of our hiſtory, and as there are various diſcordances in the relations thereof, publiſhed by modern authors, I think it may not be amiſs to give the reader that diſtinct and accurate account which is preſerved in *Robert of Aveſbury*, who lived and wrote in thoſe days, and who, beſides, fortifies what he ſays, by annexing the account publiſhed by royal authority, within four days after this battle; which detail, I am the more inclined to copy, becauſe I find in it various circumſtances, particularly reſpecting the king's conduct, which are not to be met with elſewhere.

"IT happened, ſays my author, that on the *Saturday* "fortnight before the feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, the king "was at *Orewell*, where there were forty ſhips, or there- "abouts, preparing for his paſſage into *Flanders*, where "he was going to his wife and children, whom he had "left in the city of *Ghent*, as well as to confer with his "allies about the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for carry- "ing on the war, intending to ſail in two days time; but "the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent to give him intelli- "gence, that *Philip de Valois*, his competitor for the "crown of *France*, having had notice of his intended "paſſage, with much diligence, and as much privacy as "the nature of the thing would admit, had aſſembled a "great fleet which lay in the port of *Sluys*, in order to in- "tercept him: wherefore he adviſed his majeſty to provide "himſelf

[b] Walter. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 318, 319. Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96.

" himſelf with a better ſquadron, leſt he, and thoſe who " were with him: ſhould periſh. The king, yielding no " belief to his advice, anſwered, that he was reſolved to " ſail at all events. The archbiſhop quitted upon this his " ſeat in council, obtaining the king's leave to retire, and " delivered up to him the great ſeal. His majeſty ſent " therefore for Sir *Robert de Morley*, his admiral, and one " *Crabbe*, a ſkilful ſeaman, and gave them orders to en- " quire into the truth of this matter, who quickly return- " ed, and brought him the ſame news he had heard from " the archbiſhop: upon which the king ſaid, ye have a- " greed with that prelate to tell me this tale, in order to " ſtop my voyage; but, added he angrily, I will go with- " out you, and you who are afraid, where there is no " ground of fear, may ſtay here at home. The admiral " and the ſeamen replied, that they would ſtake their " heads, that if the king perſiſted in this reſolution, he, " and all who went with him, would certainly be de- " ſtroyed; however, they were ready to attend him even " to certain death. The king having heard them, ſent " for the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* back, and with abun- " dance of kind ſpeeches, prevailed upon him to receive " the great ſeal again into his care; after which, the king " iſſued his orders to all the ports, both in the north and " ſouth, and to the *Londoners* likewiſe for aid; ſo that in " the ſpace of ten days, he had a navy as large as he de- " ſired, and ſuch unexpected reinforcements of archers " and men at arms, that he was forced to ſend many of " them home; and with this equipage he arrived before " the haven of *Sluys*, on the feaſt of St. *John the Baptiſt*. " The *Engliſh* perceiving on their approach, that the " *French* ſhips were linked together with chains, and that

" it was impoſſible for them to break their line of battle, " retired a little and ſtood back to ſea. The *French* de- " ceived by this feint, broke their order, and purſued the " *Engliſh*, who they thought fled before them. But theſe " having gained the ſun and wind, tacked, and fell upon " them with ſuch fury, that they quickly broke, and to- " tally defeated them; ſo that upwards of thirty thouſand " *French* were ſlain upon the ſpot, of whom, numbers " through fear jumped of their own accord into the ſea, " and were miſerably drowned: two hundred great ſhips " were taken, in one of which only, there were four " hundred dead bodies. The day after this victory was " gained, it was publiſhed at *London*, by the voice of the " people, which is ſaid to be the voice of God; but " though the rumour thereof, through the diſtance of pla- " ces, was uncertain, yet on the *Wedneſday* following, " the king's eldeſt ſon had perfect intelligence thereof at " *Waltham*, as appears by the following authentic ac- " count." That is, the narrative by authority publiſhed as before mentioned by prince *Edward*[1].

We have alſo many remarkable particulars in relation to this battle in other writers. The lord *Cobham* was firſt ſent by the king to view the *French* fleet, which he found drawn up in line of battle, and having given the king an account of the vaſt number and great force of their ſhips; that brave prince anſwered, well, by the aſſiſtance of god and St. *George*, I will now revenge all the wrongs I have received. He ordered the battle himſelf, directing his ſhips to be drawn up in two lines, the firſt conſiſting of veſſels of the greateſt force ſo ranged, that between two ſhips

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[1] Robert de Aveſbury, p. 34, 35, 36.

ſhips filled with archers, there was one wherein were men at arms; the ſhips in the wings being alſo manned with archers. The ſecond line he uſed as a reſerve, and drew from thence ſupplies as they became neceſſary. The battle laſted from eight in the morning till ſeven at night, and, even after this, there was a ſecond diſpute; for thirty *French* ſhips endeavouring to ſcape in the dark, the *Engliſh* attacked them under the command of the earl of *Huntingdon*, and took the *James* of *Diep*, and ſunk ſeveral others. The king behaved with equal courage and conduct throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in perſon, and moving as occaſion required from place to place. The *French* fleet, ſome authors ſay, had three, others, four diviſions, one of which conſiſted of the *Geneeſe* ſhips. They were extremely well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing ſtones, with which they did a great deal of miſchief; but they were leſs dextrous in managing their ſhips than the *Engliſh:* and this ſeems to have been one great cauſe of their defeat. The victory, however, coſt the *Engliſh* a great deal of blood; for a large ſhip and a gally belonging to *Hull*, were ſunk with all on board, by a volley of ſtones; and in a great ſhip which belonged to the king's wardrobe, there were but two men and a woman that eſcaped. In all, the *Engliſh* loſt about four thouſand men, and amongſt them the following knights, ſir *Thomas Monthermer*, ſir *Thomas Latimer*, ſir *John Boteler*, and ſir *Thomas Poinings* [k].

THE account the *French* writers give us of this battle, contains likewiſe ſome remarkable paſſages: they tell us, that

[k] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 319, 320, 321. Foiſſard. Walſingham. Knighton. p. 2578. Du Cheſm. liv. xv. p. 651.

that there was a great diſſention amongſt their chief commanders [l]. The *French* had two admirals, Sir *Hugh Quieret* and Sir *Peter Bahuchet*. The former would have come out and fought, but the latter was for remaining within, and defending the haven; and perſiſting in this opinion, he detained the ſhips ſo long in the port, that at laſt they could not get out. As for the *Geneſe*, they were under an admiral of their own, whoſe name was *Barbarini*, who with his ſquadron ſtood out to ſea as ſoon as the *Engliſh* approached, and behaved very bravely, carrying off a part of his force, which was all that eſcaped. Sir *Hugh Quieret* was killed in the engagement, and Sir *Peter de Bahuchet* was hanged at the yard-arm for his ill conduct [m]. To take as much as may be from the honour of the *Engliſh*, theſe writers report, that the victory was chiefly owing to the *Flemings*, who joined the *Engliſh* fleet a little before the battel began: and they likewiſe magnify the loſs which the *Engliſh* received, computing it at ten thouſand men; adding alſo, that king *Edward* was wounded in the thigh [n]. On the whole it appears to have been a very hard-fought battel, and the victory ſeems entirely due to the ſkill and courage of the *Engliſh* ſailors, who were more adroit in working their ſhips, as the men at arms were more ready in boarding than the *French*; and the archers alſo did excellent ſervice. King *Edward* kept the ſea three days to put his victory out of diſpute, and then landing his forces marched to *Ghent*, in order to join his confederates [o].

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[l] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 3. tom. ii. p. 468. Froiſſard. P. Daniel. hiſt. de la Milice. Franc. France, vol. i. p. 491. [m] J. de Serres. [n] Hiſtoire de [o] Chron. Godſtovian, p. 112. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Walſingh.

THE *French* king acted now on the defenſive, putting garriſons into all his ſtrong places, that whatever the *Engliſh* and their allies won might coſt them dear *. Hereupon king *Edward* with a very numerous army inveſted *Tournay*, from which ſiege he ſent king *Philip* a challenge, offering to decide their quarrel, either by a ſingle combat between themſelves, or of a hundred againſt a like number; which king *Philip* refuſed for two reaſons, becauſe the letters were addreſſed to *Philip de Valois*, and therefore, ſeemed not to concern him; as alſo becauſe king *Edward* ſtaked nothing of his own, and yet required *Philip* to hazard his all. Both theſe letters are preſerved in one of our old hiſtorians †. At laſt, after the ſiege had continued three months, king *Edward* perceiving that his foreign auxiliaries daily dropped away, while the *French* king's army of obſervation became ſtronger and ſtronger, he was content to make a truce for ſome months, which was afterwards renewed, and then returned to *England* ‡, having got a great deal of honour by his naval victory, and no leſs experience by his diſappointment before *Tournay*, which convinced him, that, in all foreign confederacies, an *Engliſh* monarch is no farther conſidered than for the ſake of his treaſure, with which he is ſure to part, though without any certainty of meeting with a proper return.

BUT if theſe foreign expeditions exceſſively haraſſed the nation, and coſt immenſe ſums of money, yet it muſt be owned, that king *Edward* had always an eye to his ſubjects

* A. D. 1340. † Robert de Aveſbury, p. 60, 61. ‡ Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Wale. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 324. Chron. Gedſtovian. Froiſſard, Walſingham.

ſubjects welfare, and was very attentive to whatever might promote their commerce. He had from the beginning of his reign made ſeveral good laws for the regulation of trade, and for preſerving to the nation the benefit of their wool; but now his long reſidence in *Flanders*, having given him an opportunity of obſerving the great profits made by the *Fleniſh* manufacturers, who then wrought up almoſt all that commodity, he wiſely contrived to draw over great numbers of them hither, by inſiſting on the difficulties they laboured under at home, where their country was the ſeat of war, and the great advantages they might reap by tranſporting themſelves into *England*, where he was ready to afford them all the encouragement they could deſire; and from his endeavours in this reſpect, ſprung that great, that lucrative manufacture which has been ſince productive of ſuch mighty advantages to the *Engliſh* nation [r]. Yet, in other reſpects, the king diſcovered ſeverity enough in his temper, by diſplacing and impriſoning moſt of his great officers, and obſtinately perſiſting in levying vaſt ſums to be laviſhed away in uſeleſs confederacies, and a fruitleſs proſecution of his claim to the *French* crown. But it is time to return from theſe reflections, however natural, to the buſineſs of this treatiſe.

In the year 1342, the war was renewed, on account of the conteſted ſucceſſion to the dutchy of *Britany*, king *Edward* ſupporting the cauſe of *John de Montford*, who was owned by the nobility againſt *Charles de Blois*, declared duke by the *French* king, who was his uncle. On this occaſion a conſiderable body of *Engliſh* troops was ſent over into that dutchy under the command of Sir

Walter

[r] Stow, Holingſhead, Speed, Brady.

Walter de Mannie, who performed many gallant exploits both by land and ſea, though to no great purpoſe; the *French* king having it always in his power to pour in as many *French* troops as he pleaſed, ſo that the party of *Charles de Blois* prevailed, though againſt right, and the inclination of thoſe who were to be his ſubjects[a]. King *Edward* on advice thereof, ſent over a new ſuccour under the command of the earls of *Northampton* and *Devonſhire*.

THE *French* king having notice of the intended ſupply, ſent *Lewis* of *Spain* who commanded his fleet, which was made up of ſhips hired of different nations, directing that it ſhould lie near the iſland of *Guernſey*, in order to intercept the *Engliſh* ſquadron in its paſſage. This fleet conſiſted of two and thirty ſail, of which nine were very large ſhips, and three ſtout gallies; and on board them were three thouſand *Genoeſe*, and a thouſand men at arms commanded under the admiral by Sir *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. The *Engliſh* fleet conſiſted of ordinary tranſports, about forty-five ſail in all, having on board five hundred men at arms, and a thouſand archers, under the command of the earls of *Northampton* and *Devonſhire*. The *French* ſquadron attacked them unexpectedly at ſea, about four in the afternoon, and the fight continued till night, when they were ſeparated by a ſtorm. The *French* and *Genoeſe* kept the ſea, their veſſels being large, with four or five prizes; but the reſt of the *Engliſh* fleet keeping cloſe to the ſhore, found means to land the forces which they had on board, who ſhortly after took the city of

[a] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 17. Hiſtoire de France, eſcrite par ordre de M. de Harley, P. Preſident du Parlement de Paris, vol. i. p. 494. Froiſſard, Wallingham.

of *France*, and performed other notable services[t]. Towards winter the king passed over with a great army into *Britany*, and besieged three principal places at once, yet without success; for the duke of *Normandy*, the *French* king's eldest son, coming with a great army to their relief, a negotiation followed, which ended in a cessation of hostilities for three years; which, however, was but indifferently kept, notwithstanding the pope interposed as far as he was able, in order to have settled an effectual peace[u].

In 1345, the war being already broke out with *France*, the king determined to sail over to *Flanders*, in order to accomplish his great design of fixing that country firmly to his interest, either, by obliging the earl to swear fealty to him as his sovereign, or else to deprive him of his dominions. While therefore he lay in the harbour of *Sluys*, a council was held of his principal friends in *Flanders*, on board his great ship the *Catharine*. At this council assisted *James d'Arteville* the brewer, who by the strength of his natural eloquence ruled all the *Netherlands*, and ruined himself by giving into the king's project. He, when his countrymen the *Flemings* demanded a month's time to consider of the propositions that had been made to them, undertook that all things should go to the king's wish; yet finding a great faction raised against him, by one *Gerard Dennis* a weaver, he accepted of a guard of five hundred *Welchmen* from the king. This, however, proved of little

[t] Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 363. We find the continuation of Trivets's annals cited there in support of these facts; yet we meet with nothing relating to this matter, in the continuation published by the reverend Mr. Anthony Hall, printed at Oxford, 1724. [u] Walt. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 359. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. ii. p. 97. Froissard, Thom. Walsingham, Chronic. Godstovian.

little ſignification; for in a ſudden tumult of the people, a cobler ſnatching up an ax, beat out his brains. The king was ſtill at *Sluys* with his fleet when this unfortunate accident happened, at which, though he was much moved, yet he was forced to diſſemble his reſentment, and to accept of the excuſes made him by the cities of *Flanders* [v]. Attributing however, all this to the arts of the *French*, he reſolved once again to attempt the conqueſt of that kingdom, and to employ therein the utmoſt force of his own. Our hiſtorians give us a very copious account of this war; there is, conſequently, the leſs need that I ſhould inſiſt upon it here: I will therefore content myſelf with giving a ſuccinct detail of the *Engliſh* forces employed in this expedition, and a more particular recital of what was remarkable in the ſiege of *Calais*, which, as it was in part formed by a naval force, falls more immediately under the ſubject of this treatiſe.

In the midſt of the ſummer of the year 1346, the king drew his navy, conſiſting of a thouſand ſhips to *Portſmouth*, and ſhortly after arrived at *Southampton* with his army, compoſed of 2500 horſe, and 30,000 foot. Theſe he quickly embarked, the fleet ſailing thither for that purpoſe, and on the fourth of *June* he put to ſea, intending to have landed in *Guyenne*; but being driven back by a ſtorm on the coaſt of *Cornwall*, and, the *French* writers ſay, put back thither a ſecond time; he at laſt determined to make a deſcent on *Normandy*, where at *la Hogue* he ſafely debarked his forces, and began very ſucceſsfully to employ them in reducing the ſtrongeſt cities in the neighbourhood; after which he ſpread fire and ſword

[v] Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 497, 498. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 23. Speed, Stowe, Holingſhead.

ſword on every ſide, even to the very gates of *Paris*. The *French* king provoked at ſo diſmal a ſight, as well as with the news that the earl of *Huntingdon* with the *Engliſh* fleet deſtroyed all the coaſt, almoſt without reſiſtance, he reſolved, contrary to his uſual policy, to hazard a battel, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*, and received that remarkable defeat, which will immortalize the little town of *Creſſy*. Of this victory I chuſe to ſay nothing, ſince my ſubject will not allow me to ſay of it what I could wiſh [x]. It was ſo entire, that for the preſent it left the king without enemies, and ſo much the effects of true courage, that though *Philip* had quickly after an army of 150,000 men on foot, yet they had no ſtomach to fight again. After this victory, the king, on the laſt day of *Auguſt* †, appeared before *Calais*, and formed a ſiege, that laſted eleven months, and which, if we had leiſure to dilate on all the circumſtances attending it, would appear little inferior to the fabulous ſiege of *Troy*, or the reduction of *Tyre* by *Alexander the Great*. The king knew that he was to reduce a place ſtrong by nature and art, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, furniſhed with a numerous garriſon, full of expectation of relief from king *Philip*, who was not far from thence with his mighty army before-mentioned. Theſe difficulties, inſtead of diſcouraging *Edward*, inflamed him with a deſire of overcoming them. He inveſted the place regularly by land, fortified his lines ſtrongly, and within them erected, as *Froiſſard* a contemporary writer tells us, a kind of town for the conveniency of

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[x] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 381. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 123. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 98. Froiſſard, Thom. Walſingham. † A. D. 1347.

of his ſoldiers, wherein were not only magazines of all ſorts for the ſervice of the war, but vaſt warehouſes alſo of wool and cloth for ſupplying the ſinews of war, by a conſtant trade at two ſettled markets; his troops all the while being exactly paid, and doing their duty chearfully. As for the fleet which blocked up the place at ſea, it conſiſted of ſeven hundred and thirty-eight ſail, on board of which were 14,956 mariners. Of theſe ſhips, ſeven hundred ſail belonged to his own ſubjects, and thirty-eight to foreigners, ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon for putting us on a par with our neighbours for hiring ſhips; ſince it is as evident that we were then able to fit out great fleets from our own ports, as that our enemies were able to do nothing but by the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*, and other foreigners. The *French* king made ſome ſhew of relieving this place, by approaching within ſight of *Calais*, at the head of a mighty army, the loſs of which he was determined however, not to venture. The garriſon of *Calais*, and the citizens, ſeeing themſelves thus deceived, had no other remedy left, than to ſubmit themſelves to the mercy of a provoked conqueror, which in the moſt abject manner they ſought, and were, at the queen's entreaty, ſpared. Thus ended this glorious ſiege, wherein the *Engliſh* monarch triumphed over his enemy by land and ſea, carrying his own, and the nation's fame, to the utmoſt height, and forcing even his enemies to acknowledge, that nothing could equal the courage and conduct of himſelf and his renowned ſon, the *Black Prince*, but the courteſy and generoſity of their behaviour [y].

[y] Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 136,—141. Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 503. Mezeray, p. 29. Froiſſard, vol. i. c. 133. Thom. Walſingham, &c.

THE king having carried his point in taking *Calais*, was content, at the earneſt intreaty of the pope, to make a truce for a year; and the firſt uſe the *French* made of this, was, to attempt recovering by fraud, what they knew it was in vain to attempt by force. The king had beſtowed the government of *Calais* on *Aymeri de Pavia*, whom ſoon after, ſome *French* noblemen perſuaded to accept of twenty thouſand crowns, and to deliver up this important place [z]. King *Edward* being informed of the deſign, paſſed with great ſecrecy from *Dover* to *Calais*, with three hundred men at arms, and ſix hundred archers, and being received by night into the forts, he was ready to repulſe the *French* troops under the command of the count *de Charny*, who came with twelve hundred men to ſurprize the place. The combat was long and doubtful; but at laſt it ended in the total defeat of the *French*, who, inſtead of taking the fortreſſes, were all either killed or taken priſoners. The king and prince *Edward* were both in this action, and both in ſome danger; eſpecially the king, who at length took Sir *Euſtace de Ribaumont*, the knight with whom he fought, priſoner †, and rewarded him for his valour with a rich bracelet of pearl [a]; and thus, as *Robert de Aveſbury* remarks, the deceit of the deceivers proved fatal to themſelves [b].

IN the month of *November* 1349, a ſquadron of *Spaniſh* ſhips paſſed ſuddenly up the *Garonne*, and finding many *Engliſh* veſſels at *Bourdeaux*, laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the *Engliſh* ſeamen, and carried off the

[z] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 31. J. de Serres, P. Daniel. † A. D. 1349. [a] Contin. Nic. Triver. & Adam. Murimuthenſ. Annal. vol. ii. p. 101. Froiſſard, Mezeray, P. Daniel. [b] Hiſt. Edward. iii. p. 181.—183.

the ſhips, though in time of full peace. King *Edward* having intelligence that a ſquadron of *Spaniſh* ſhips, richly laden, were on the point of returning from *Flanders*, he drew together at *Sandwich*, a ſquadron of fifty ſail, on board which he embarked in perſon, about *Midſummer* *, having with him the prince of *Wales*, the earls of *Lancaſter*, *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Saliſbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Arundel*, and *Gloucester*, with many other perſons of diſtinction. They met with the *Spaniſh* fleet, on the coaſt near *Winchelſea*, which conſiſted of forty-four very large ſhips, ſtiled carracks. They were, out of compariſon, bigger and ſtronger than the *Engliſh* veſſels, and yet the latter attacked them with great boldneſs. The *Spaniards* defended themſelves reſolutely, and choſe at laſt death, rather than captivity, refuſing quarter though it was offered them. Twenty-four of theſe great ſhips laden with cloth and other valuable goods, were taken and brought into the *Engliſh* harbours, and the reſt eſcaped by a ſpeedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king cauſed himſelf to be repreſented on a gold coin, ſtanding in the midſt of a ſhip with a ſword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name tranſmitted to poſterity, as, THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS [c].

IT would be beſide our purpoſe, to record all the glorious expeditions of this reign, which would require a volume to do them right. In order to connect ſuch paſſages as fall properly under our pen, we ſhall obſerve, that on the death of *Philip* the *French* king, his ſon *John* ſucceeded in the throne, who in the beginning of his

* A. D. 1350. [c] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 102. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 184, 185. Anonym. hiſtor. Edward. iii. c. 54. Froiſſard, &c.

reign, beſtowed the dutchy of *Aquitaine*, upon the *Dauphin*, which ſo provoked king *Edward*, that he gave it, with the like title, to his ſon the prince, and ſent him with a ſmall army of veteran troops to maintain his title. With theſe forces, on the 19th of *September*, 1356, he won the famous battel of *Poictiers*, in which he took the king of *France*, and his youngeſt ſon *Philip* priſoners, and with them, the flower of the *French* nobility, with whom, towards the cloſe of the year, he landed in triumph at *Plymouth*; from whence he proceeded to *London*, where he was received with the utmoſt reſpect by the citizens, having at their head, *Henry Picard*, then lord-mayor, who afterwards entertained the king's of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus* at dinner [d].

THE taking of their king brought the *French* affairs into great diſorder, which was increaſed through their own diſſentions, and occaſioned ſuch a terrible fluctuation in their councils, that king *Edward*, believing himſelf ill dealt with in the negotiations they had ſet on foot, for the deliverance of their king, reſolved to quicken them, by invading *France*, with a more potent army than hitherto he had employed againſt them; and accordingly embarked at *Sandwich*, on the 24th of *October* 1359, on board a fleet of eleven hundred ſail, and the next day landed his army on *Calais* ſands, conſiſting of near an hundred thouſand men. The *Dauphin*, with a great army, kept about *Paris*, but could not be drawn to a battel, which though it loſt him ſome reputation, yet it certainly preſerv-

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[d] Continuat. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 107. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 210,—252. Anonym. hiſt. Edw. iii. c. 56. Mezeray, P. Daniel.

ed *France*. For king *Edward* perceiving that, though he was able to take their greateſt cities, and to plunder their richeſt provinces, yet it was by no means in his power to preſerve his conqueſts, reſolved to put an end to ſo deſtructive a diſpute; which, though it raiſed his glory, ſerved only to ruin two great nations, and with this generous view, concluded the peace of *Bretagny*, ſo called from its being ſigned at that place, *May* 8, 1360. By this treaty, king *Edward*, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, renounced his title to the kingdom of *France*, the dutchy of *Normandy*, and many other countries; the *French*, on the other ſide, giving up to him all *Aquitaine*, with many countries depending thereupon, as alſo the town and lordſhip of *Calais*, with a conſiderable territory thereto adjoining [e]. By this treaty, king *John* obtained his liberty, and was conveyed in an *Engliſh* fleet to *Calais*, in the month of *July* following. King *Edward*, who was in *England*, at the time the *French* king went away, paſſed alſo over to *Calais* in the month of *October*, where, upon the 24th, the treaty was ſolemnly ratified, after the performance of divine ſervice, and the kings mutually embracing, put an end to all their differences: *John* proceeding from thence to *Paris*, and king *Edward* returning on board his fleet to *England* [f].

THIS peace laſted as long as the *French* king lived, who, in 1364, came over into *England* again, under pretence of treating with king *Edward*, but in reality out of reſpect to an *Engliſh* lady, and died here ſoon after his arrival. His ſon, the *Dauphin*, ſucceeded him, by the

[e] Rymer's Fœder. tom. vi. p. 229. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. p, 113. Mezeray, P. Daniel. [f] Froiſſard, Walſingham, Knighton.

name of *Charles* V. ſur-named *The Wiſe*, and from the inſtant he mounted the throne, projected the breach of the late treaty, and the depriving king *Edward* of the advantages ſtipulated thereby, which has been always a great point in *French* wiſdom [g]. The war, however, did not break out till the year 1369. The pretence then made uſe of by the *French*, was, that the prince of *Wales* had raiſed ſome illegal taxes in his *French* dominions, of which, the nobility of thoſe provinces were excited to complain to the *French* king, and to demand redreſs, as from their ſovereign lord. The *French* hiſtorians themſelves, admit, that this was mere pretence, and that king *Charles* had ſecretly diſpoſed all things for expelling the *Engliſh* out of *France*, and when his mines were ready, directed the count *de Armagnac*, and others of prince *Edward*'s barons, to ſpring them, by preſenting their petition; upon which, he ſummoned the prince of *Wales* to anſwer before his court of peers, at *Paris*. This was a direct breach of the treaty of *Bretigny*, whereby the provinces in queſtion were abſolutely yielded to the king of *England*. The prince, on receiving this ſummons, declared, that he would come to *Paris* with his helmet on his head, and 60,000 men to witneſs his appearance. The *French* king, who expected ſuch a return, immediately declared, that the territories of the king of *England* in *France*, were forfeited for this contempt, of which ſentence he gave king *Edward* notice, by ſo contemptible a meſſenger as a ſcullion [h]. To ſuch an act as this, he was prompted by the

[g] Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 523. J. de Serres. Mezeray.
[h] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. p. 78, 79. Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 531.

the confidence he had in a ſcheme of his own, for invading and deſtroying *England*. In order to this, he had been for ſome years purchaſing ſhips all over *Europe*, ſo that at length he drew together a prodigious fleet, on board of which he was preparing to embark a numerous army, when he had advice, that the duke of *Lancaſter*, and the earl of *Warwick*, with a conſiderable body of *Engliſh* forces were landed in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, and in full march towards him. This obliged him to abandon his deſign, and to make uſe of his forces to defend his own country, which they performed but indifferently, though they were lucky in another reſpect, for the count de St. *Pol* diſappointed a deſign the duke of *Lancaſter* had formed, of burning the whole *French* fleet in the port of *Harfleur* [i].

KING *Edward* in the mean time, conceiving himſelf by this ſeries of unprovoked hoſtilities, entirely freed from his ſtipulations in the treaty concluded with king *John*, reſumed the title of king of *France*, and having received great ſupplies of money from his parliament, made mighty preparations for invading *France*, and for the preſent, ſeveral ſquadrons were ſent to ſea to cruize upon the enemy †. One of theſe, on the coaſt of *Flanders*, took five and twenty ſail of ſhips laden with ſalt [k]. Theſe ſhips were commanded by one *John Peterſon*, and having brought this cargo from *Rochelle*, thought to ſhew their bravery by attacking the earl of *Hereford* with his ſmall ſquadron, and ſo drew upon themſelves this misfortune.

[i] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol ii. p. 123. Anonym. vit. Edward. iii. cap. 59. Froiſſard, Walſingham. Mezeray. P. Daniel. † A. D. 1371. [k] Anonym. hiſtor. Edward. iii. cap. 60. Froiſſard, Walſingham.

The ſame year the *French* formed the ſiege of *Rochelle*, the news of which gave king *Edward* great diſquiet; he therefore immediately ordered the earl of *Pembroke*, a young nobleman of great courage, to ſail with a ſquadron of forty ſhips, and ſuch forces as could be drawn together on a ſudden to its relief [l]. *Henry* king of *Caſtile*, having notice of this embarkation, and fearing, if the *Engliſh* ſucceeded, that they would again deprive him of his kingdom, which was claimed by the duke of *Lancaſter* in right of his wife, fitted out a ſtout fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail of great ſhips, and thirteen tight frigates, which well manned, under the command of four experienced ſea-officers, he ſent to cruize before the entrance of the port of *Rochelle*, in order to intercept the *Engliſh* fleet [m]. The earl of *Pembroke* arriving on *Midſummer*-eve before *Rochelle*, engaged this fleet, but with indifferent ſucceſs, the *Spaniards* having ſhips of war, and he only tranſports; however, being parted in the night, he loſt no more than two ſtore ſhips. The next day he renewed the fight, wherein he was totally defeated, all his ſhips being taken or ſunk, and himſelf ſent priſoner into *Spain*. On board one of his ſhips were twenty thouſand marks in ready money, which were to have been employed in raiſing forces, but by this accident went to the bottom of the ſea. *French* writers pretend that the beſieged were not diſpleaſed with this misfortune which befell the *Engliſh*, and as a proof of this, alledge, that they gave them no aſſiſtance; the contrary of which appears from our authors, who

[l] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 127, 128. Holingſhed, Speed. [m] Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 532. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 89, 90.

who give us a liſt of the *Rochellers* who periſhed in this fight [n].

THIS loſs was attended with that of *Rochelle*, and the greateſt part of *Poictou*, which ſo raiſed the ſpirits of the *French*, that they beſieged the ſtrong city of *Touars*, which they brought to a capitulation on theſe terms, that if by the feaſt of St. *Michael* they were not relieved by king *Edward*, or one of his ſons, then the place, with all its dependencies, ſhould be rendered into the hands of the *French*. The principal perſon employed by the *French* in this expedition, was one Sir *John Evans*, a native of *Wales*, who had forſaken his country through ſome diſcontent. This man was an excellent officer both by land and ſea, and was now recalled from the iſland of *Guernſey*, upon which he had made a deſcent, and had almoſt reduced the place, to perform the like ſervice in *Poictou* [o]. I mention this to ſhew, that the *French* began now to have ſome power at ſea, which is the natural conſequence of their maintaining a lingering war with us. King *Edward* had all this time been preparing a vaſt number of tranſports, and a ſtout fleet, in order to tranſport his army to *Calais*. But now having intelligence of the terms on which the city of *Touars* had capitulated, he reſolved to employ his forces and his fleet for its relief. With this view he embarked a conſiderable body of troops on board a fleet of four hundred ſail; and to ſhew the earneſt deſire he had of ſaving ſo important a place, he went in perſon with the prince of *Wales*, the duke of *Lancaſter*, the earl of *Cambridge*, all three his ſons, and many of his nobility, but

[n] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 128. Froiſſard, Walſingham, P. Daniel, Mezeray. [o] Froiſſard, vol. i. ch. 105.

but all his endeavours were to no purpoſe *: for embarking the beginning of *Auguſt*, the fleet was ſo toſſed by contrary winds, that, after continuing at ſea about nine weeks, the king found himſelf obliged to return to *England*, where as ſoon as he landed, he diſmiſſed his army, by which untoward accident *Tours* was loſt [p]. From this inſtance it is apparent, that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care and diligence in fitting out fleets, and in ſpite of all the courage and conduct of the moſt accompliſhed commanders, expeditions of this kind may eaſily fail; and in ſuch caſes, the conſequence generally is the ſame which fell out here, the people murmured at the vaſt expence, and began to ſuggeſt, that now the king grew old, fortune failed him.

THE king, notwithſtanding theſe repeated diſappointments ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts for reſtoring his affairs in *France*; but being grown far in years, and withal much worn with fatigue, he contented himſelf with ſending the duke of *Lancaſter* with a great fleet, and a good army on board, to *Calais* †. The *French* writers, and indeed moſt of our hiſtorians, ſay that it it conſiſted of thirty thouſand men; but *Froiſſard*, who lived in thoſe times, and knew very well what he wrote, affirms, they were but thirteen thouſand, *viz.* three thouſand men at arms, and ten thouſand archers. They might, indeed, be increaſed after their arrival, and probably they were ſo. At the head of theſe forces the duke of *Lancaſter* paſſed through the heart of *France* to *Bourdeaux*, in

* A. D. 1372. [p] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 128. Anonym. hiſt. Edward III. cap. 60. Both theſe writers however ſay, this expedition was for the relief of Rochel. Froiſſards Mezeray, P. Daniel. † A. D. 1372.

in ſpite of all the oppoſition the *French* could give him, who made it their buſineſs to haraſs him all they could in his march, though they were determined not to fight [q]. Thus far the expedition was equally ſucceſsful and glorious, but in the latter end of it, the army by continual fatigue began to diminiſh, and the duke of *Lancaſter* was glad to conclude a truce, which was prolonged from time to time, ſo long as the king lived. In theſe laſt days of his life he grew feeble in body and mind, and was (as many of our hiſtorians ſay) governed in a great meaſure by a miſtreſs and her favourites. His glorious ſon, *the Black Prince*, lingered alſo for ſeveral years with a dropſy, and complication of diſtempers; ſo that we need not wonder at the wrong turn the *Engliſh* affairs took in *France*, if we conſider the advantage the *French* then had, in the art and cunning of *Charles* V. who was certainly one of the ableſt princes that ever ſat upon their throne. In all probability, the ſenſe king *Edward* had of this great change in his affairs, and his foreſight of the miſeries that would attend a minority in ſuch troubleſome times, might poſſibly haſten his death, which happened on the twenty-firſt of *June* 1377, in the fifty-firſt year of his reign [r].

IN the courſe of this reign we have taken notice of the great jealouſy the king expreſſed for his ſovereignty of the ſea; but if we had mentioned every inſtance thereof, it would have ſwelled the account of this reign beyond all bounds: ſome ſpecial caſes, however, it may not be amiſs to touch here. In the peace made by him with king *John*,

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[q] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Froiſſard, vol. i cap. 106. Thom. Walſingham. [r] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 138. Thom. Walſingham, Speed, Barnes in his hiſtory of this prince.

John, wherein *Edward* renounced all title to *Normandy*, he expreſly reſerved all the iſlands dependant thereupon, that he might preſerve his juriſdiction at ſea entire [s]. In his commiſſions to admirals and inferior officers, he frequently ſtiles himſelf ſovereign of the *Engliſh* ſeas, aſſerting, that he derived this title from his progenitors, and deducing from thence the grounds of his inſtructions, and of the authority committed to them by theſe delegations [t]. His parliaments likewiſe, in the preambles to their bills, take notice of this point, and that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of *England* in right of his crown was ſovereign of the ſeas [u]. He was alſo, as we have before ſhewn, very attentive to trade, and remarkably careful of *Engliſh* wool, the ſtaple of which he managed with ſuch addreſs, that he long held the principal cities of *Flanders* attached to his intereſt, contrary to the duty they owed to their earl, whom he more than once engaged them to expel [w]. Yet for all this, his conduct in the laſt years of his life was fatal to the naval power of this nation; for by long wars and frequent embargoes, he mightily injured commerce; while on the other hand, the *French* king was all this while aſſiduous in his endeavours to create a maritime force in his dominions, in which he ſo far ſucceeded, that he became this way a formidable enemy to the *Engliſh* [x], as will be ſeen in our account of the next reign. But before I part with this, I muſt take notice, that not only the ſtate was exceedingly exhauſted by the king's *French* wars, but that prince

[s] Thom. Walſingham. ad xxxiv. Edvardi III. [t] Rot. Scotiæ, x Ed. III. Membran. 16. [u] Rot. Parl. 46. Ed. III. num. 20. [w] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 86. [x] Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe par P. Daniel. tom. ii. p. 448.

prince himſelf alſo driven to ſuch neceſſities, that he thrice pawned his crown, firſt in the ſeventeenth year of his reign beyond the ſeas [1]; again in the twent-fourth, to ſir *John Weſenham*, his merchant [2]; and again in the thirtieth of his reign, to the ſame perſon, in whoſe hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it [3]: neither is this a ſlight report, or a ſtory taken from private memoirs, but appears in our records, and ought therefore to be a caution to all ſucceeding monarchs, not to lay too great a ſtreſs on their foreign expectations, which, though ſometimes they ſeem honourable in appearance, have been always in effect ruinous to their predeceſſors.

RICHARD II. from the place where he was born, ſtiled *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, the ſon of the famous *Black Prince*, ſucceeded his grandfather in the kingdom with general ſatisfaction, though he was then but eleven years old. He was crowned with great ſolemnity, and being too young to govern himſelf, the adminiſtration naturally devolved upon his uncles, and particularly *John* of *Gaunt* duke of *Lancaſter*, then ſtiled king of *Caſtile* and *Leon* [b]. While the great men in *England* were employed in adjuſting their intereſts, and getting good places, the *French* king's fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail of ſtout ſhips, under the command of admiral *de Vienne*, infeſted our coaſts, and a body of troops landed in *Suſſex*, by whom the town of *Rye* was burnt. This was in the latter end of

[1] Pat. Parl. 1. An. 17° Edw. III. [2] Pat. An. 24. Membran. 21. [3] Clauſ. An. 30. Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38. Edw. III. ex parte Rem. Regis. [b] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 140, 141. Thom. Walſingham, &c.

of *June*, within ſix days after king *Edward*'s deceaſe, of which the *French* having notice, they thence took courage to attempt greater things. On the twenty-firſt of *Auguſt*, they landed in the *Iſle of Wight*, pillaged and burnt moſt of the villages therein, and exacted a thouſand pounds of the inhabitants for not burning the reſt; and afterwards paſſing along the coaſt, they landed from time to time, and deſtroyed *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*, to the great diſhonour of the lords about the young king, who were ſo much employed in taking care of themſelves, that they had little time to ſpare, and perhaps as little concern for the affairs of the nation; ſo that, if private perſons had not interpoſed, matters had ſtill gone worſe, for though ſir *John Arundel* drove the *French* from *Southampton* with loſs: yet they burnt *Haſtings*, and attempted *Winchelſea*, which was defended by the abbot of *Battel*. At *Lewes* they beat the prior with ſuch troops as he had drawn together, and having killed about a hundred men, not without conſiderable loſs on their ſide, re-embarked their forces, and returned home [c].

In ſome meaſure, to wipe off the ſhame of theſe miſadventures, a conſiderable fleet was at length ſent to ſea, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, who had with him many gallant officers, and who intended to have intercepted the *Spaniſh* fleet in their voyage to *Sluys*; with which view he twice put to ſea, and was as often forced into port by contrary winds, ſo that his project came to nothing [d]. The duke of *Lancaſter*, on a promiſe to defend the nation againſt all enemies for one year, got into his hands

[c] Froiſſard, vol. i. cap. 327. Mezeray, Daniel. [d] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 141.

hands a ſubſidy granted by parliament for that purpoſe, yet he executed his truſt ſo indifferently, that one *Mercer*, a *Scotch* Privateer, with a ſmall ſquadron, carried away ſeveral veſſels from under the walls of *Scarborough-Caſtle*, and afterwards adding ſeveral *French* and *Spaniſh* ſhips to his fleet, began to grow very formidable, and greatly diſturbed the *Engliſh* commerce [e].

In times of public diſtraction, private virtues are commonly moſt conſpicuous. There was one alderman *John Philpot* of *London*, who with great wealth, and a fair reputation, had a very high and active ſpirit, and could hardly digeſt the affronts daily done to his country, by the *French* admirals, and the *Scotch* pyrates. This man, at his own expence, fitted out a ſtout ſquadron, on board which he embarked a thouſand men at arms, and then went in queſt of *Mercer*, whoſe fleet, ſuperior in force, and flushed with victory, he engaged, and totally defeated, taking not only his ſhips with all the booty on board them, but alſo fifteen *Spaniſh* veſſels, richly laden, which a little before had joined *Mercer*, beſides all the prizes he had carried from *Scarborough*. For this glorious act, alderman *Philpot*, according to the ſtrange policy of thoſe times, was called before the council, and queſtioned for thus manning a ſquadron without legal authority; but he anſwered the earl of *Staffford* ſo wiſely, and juſtified himſelf ſo fully, that the lords were content to diſmiſs with thanks, a man whoſe virtues were more illuſtrious than their titles [f].

But, as there could be no dependance on theſe extraordinary remedies, the parliament provided in ſome meaſure

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[e] Stowe, Holingſhead, Speed. [f] Thom. Walſingham, Stowe, Speed.

ſure for the ſecurity of navigation, by the impoſition of certain duties. The very learned ſir *Robert Cotton* ſays, theſe impoſitions were by *Strength of Prerogative only* [g], the contrary of which appears clearly by the record, which is ſtill extant. But, before we ſpeak of theſe, which in their own nature are the ſtrongeſt proofs of our ſovereignty at ſea, it will be neceſſary to obſerve what former kings had done in this reſpect. In king *John*'s time, as we find it recited, upon record in ſubſequent reigns, the town of *Winchelſea* was enjoined, in the 16th year of his reign, to provide ten good and large ſhips for the king's ſervice, in *Poictou* [h]; at another time, twenty: *Dunwich*, and *Ipſwich*, being to find five each, and other ports in proportion, all at their own expence [i]. *Edward* I. had from the merchants, a twentieth, and afterwards, a ſeventh of their commodities [k]; he impoſed a cuſtom of a noble upon every ſack of wool [l], which in his ſon's time was doubled. In *Edward* II. time, we find, that the ſea ports were for twelve years charged to ſet out ſhips provided with ammunition and proviſion, ſometimes for one month, ſometimes for four; the number of ſhips, more or leſs, according as occaſion required [m]. *Edward* III. heightened the ſubſidy upon wool, to ſix and forty ſhillings and four pence a ſack [n], being ſeven times the firſt impoſition. As for ſhips, he enjoined the ſea-ports frequently to attend him with all their ſtrength [o]. In the 13th

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[g] Anſwers to reaſons for foreign wars, p. 46. [h] Ex. Joan. Everſden, Pat. an. 3. E. 1. m. 26. [i] Rot. Clauſ. an. 26. H. iii. [k] Rot. Vaſconiæ. Anno 22. E. i. m. 8. [l] Ex. Hiſtoria. Joan. Everſden. See Brady's hiſtory in that king's reign. [m] Rot. Scot. an. 2. E. ii. m. 17. Rot. Scot. an. 12. E. ii. m. 8. Rot. Pat. an. 4. E. ii. Dorſ. Clauſ. an. 17. E. ii. m. 2. [n] See Brady's Hiſtory, Molloy de Jure Maritimo. p. 289. [o] Clauſ. an. 1. E. iii. Rot. Scot. eod. an.

13th year of his reign, he obliged the *Cinque-Ports* to ſet out thirty ſhips, half at his coſt, and half at theirs; the out-ports furniſhing fourſcore ſhips, and the traders of *London* being commanded to furniſh ſhips of war at their own expence [p]. Complaint being made, on account of theſe hardſhips, to parliament [q], no other anſwer could be had, than that the king would not permit things to be otherwiſe than they were before his time [r]; that is, would not permit his prerogative to be diminiſhed. By theſe methods, he raiſed his cuſtoms in the port of *London*, to a thouſand marks *per* month [s]. Theſe were certainly hardſhips, and hardſhips that would not have been borne under any other pretence. But now, under the minority of king *Richard* II. when things could not be carried with ſo high a hand, and yet the neceſſity of maintaining a conſtant ſquadron at ſea for the ſecurity of the coaſts was apparent, a new order was taken, equally agreeable to juſtice and reaſon, for impoſing certain duties on all ſhips ſailing in the north ſeas, that is, from the mouth of the river of *Thames* northwards. Theſe duties were to be levied not only on merchants, but on fiſhermen, and of thoſe belonging to foreign nations, as well as of *Engliſh* ſubjects. It conſiſted in paying 6*d. per* ton, and only ſuch veſſels were excuſed as were bound from *Flanders* to *London* with merchandize, or from *London* to *Calais* with wool and hides. Fiſhermen, particularly ſuch as were employed in the herring-fiſhery, were to pay 6*d. per* ton every week, other fiſhermen a like duty every three weeks. Ships employed in the coal-trade

[p] Rot. Scot. an. 13. Ed. iii. m. 15. [q] Rot. Scot. an. 10. E. iii. [r] Rot. Alman. an. 2. E. iii. m. 2. [s] Claus. an. 5. E. iii.

to *Newcaſtle*, once in three months. Merchant-men ſailing to *Pruſſia*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*, a like duty; and for the collecting theſe impoſitions, ſix armed veſſels were to be employed. As for the authority by which this was done, it will beſt appear by the title of the record, which runs thus. *This is the* ordinance *and* grant *by advice of the* merchants *of* London, *and of other* merchants *to the* north, *by the* aſſent *of all the* commons *in* parliament, *the earl of* Northumberland, *and the* mayor *of* London, *for the guard and tuition of the ſea and coaſts, under the juriſdiction of the* admiral *of the* north ſeas, *&c.* [t] This, as I obſerved before, is the cleareſt proof that our ſovereignty of the ſea, in thoſe days, was admitted by all nations, otherwiſe this ordinance would not have been ſubmitted to; about which it appears, there was no kind of ſcruple or apprehenſion, ſince ſo ſmall a force was appointed to collect it.

In 1378, the earls of *Arundel* and *Saliſbury*, paſſed with conſiderable forces into *France*, where being able to perform little, they in their return were attacked at ſea by a *Spaniſh* ſquadron. Part of the *Engliſh* fleet ſeems not to have engaged; and my author charges *Philip* and *Peter Courtney*, who commanded the ſhips that fought, with temerity. However it was, they both behaved very gallantly; and *Philip* eſcaped, though much wounded. As for *Peter*, he was taken with a few of his men, who were never heard of afterwards; and as there periſhed in this fight abundance of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* gentlemen, it was looked upon as a very great misfortune [u]. It was, however,

[t] Rot. Parliam. an. 2. R. ii. par. 2. art. 39. in Schedula. [u] Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 143.

however, followed with a greater: the duke of *Lancaſter*, with a very numerous army, and a very potent fleet, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Bretagne*, about midſummer, and having ſpent near a month in a fruitleſs ſiege of the town of St. *Male*, which he miſſed taking by his own negligence and ill conduct, he returned to *England* with little reputation to himſelf; the *French* fleet in the mean time having ſpoiled the coaſts of *Cornwall* [y].

THE foes of the *French* court very naturally applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to *England*, and ſeldom failed to obtain it, though it was not often that either we, or they were gainers by it in the end. The king of *Navarre*, who had ſhewn himſelf a bitter enemy to the houſe of *Valois*, and who had hitherto had but indifferent ſucceſs, in a great variety of intrigues and enterprizes into which he had entered, at laſt addreſſed himſelf to king *Richard*, and offered to put the fortreſs of *Cherburg* in *Normandy*, into his hands; which was accepted, and with ſome difficulty obtained, in the month of *October*, 1379. In the latter end of the ſame year Sir *John Arundel* going with a conſiderable reinforcement to *Bretagne*, was ſhipwreck'd, part of his ſquadron being driven on the coaſts of *Ireland*, ſome on the *Welch* ſhore, and others into *Cornwall*, ſo that himſelf, and a thouſand men at arms, periſhed; this loſs, and the uneaſineſs following upon it, occaſioned the calling of a parliament. The next year, however, new ſupplies were ſent, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Robert Knollys*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*, to *Calais*, and from thence paſſed through the heart of *France* into *Bretagne*, where the duke employed them in

[y] Ibid. p. 144. Walſingham, Stowe, Holingſhed. &c.

the ſiege of *Nantes*, a city which refuſed to acknowledge him; and taking very little care to ſupply them with neceſſaries, they were by degrees reduced to ſuch miſery, that the *Engliſh* ſoldiers were glad to return in ſmall companies through *France*, not in a hoſtile way, but begging their bread, which ought to have put an end to all theſe inconſiderate expeditions, that ſerved only to waſte the ſtrength of the nation, and to expoſe us to foreigners; for in the mean time the *French* gallies burnt *Graveſend*, and plundered the whole *Kentiſh* coaſt *.

In 1383, a new kind of war broke out, which though inconſiderable in its conſequences, ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. There was at this time, a ſchiſm in the church of *Rome*; *Urban* IV. was owned in that city, and *Clement* VII. was acknowledged for *Pope* at *Avignon*. The ſeveral princes of *Europe*, conſulted their own advantage in the choice they made of theſe pontiffs, and as the *French* had owned *Clement*, the *Engliſh* grew very warm on the behalf of *Urban*. He therefore, to ſerve his own intereſt, and to heighten their zeal, proclaims a croiſade againſt his opponents, and conſtitutes *Henry Nevil*, biſhop of *Norwich*, his general in *England*. This prelate, a man of noble birth, was of a fit character for ſuch an enterprize, having a high ſpirit, a reſolute courage, and a very intriguing genius. He knowing that the *Flemings* were then in arms againſt their earl, and that they were naturally inclined to the *Engliſh*, reſolved to make uſe of his commiſſion, to over-run, if poſſible, that country. Paſſing over with this view to *Calais*, he there ſuddenly aſſembled

* Contin. Nic. Trivet & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. p 147, 148. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 109. Froiſſard, Thom. Walſingham.

aſſembled fifty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, with which, and a good fleet attending, he ſuddenly fell into *Flanders*, where he cut to pieces a body of twelve thouſand men belonging to the earl, took *Dunkirk*, *Graveling*, *Mardyke*, and other places, and at length beſieged *Ypres*; his fleet proceeding with like good fortune at ſea. But the *French* king marching with a great army into *Flanders*, and the *Flemings* beginning to fall off, the biſhop of *Norwich* was glad to retire, and after all his ſhort-lived ſucceſſes, to return with a handful of men into *England*. The next year the *French* fitted out ſeveral ſquadrons to infeſt the *Engliſh* coaſt, in which they were but too ſucceſsful, while our inteſtine diviſions hindred us from taking that due care of our affairs, which our great ſtrength at ſea enabled us to have done. Yet the inhabitants of *Portſmouth*, to ſhew the martial ſpirit of this nation was not quite extinguiſhed, fitted out a ſquadron at their own expence, which engaging the *French* with equal force, took every ſhip, and ſlew all but nine perſons on board them, performing alſo other gallant exploits before they returned into port [y]. So very apparent it is, that if our affairs go wrong, this ought to be aſcribed to the rulers, and not to the people, who are naturally jealous of our national glory, and ever ready enough to ſacrifice their perſons and properties for its defence.

THE *French* king, *Charles* VI. was in the year 1385, perſuaded to revive his father's project, of invading *England*, in order to compel the *Engliſh* to abandon the few places they ſtill held in *France*. With this view, he, at a

[y] Hiſtoire de France, vol. ii. p. 12. Mezeray. vol. iii. p. 125. Stow. Holinſhed, Speed.

prodigious expence, purchaſed ſhips in different parts of *Europe*, and by degrees drew together a very great number; an author of credit who lived in thoſe times, ſays, twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſail, inſomuch that, if it had been neceſſary, they might have made a bridge from *Calais* to *Dover* [a]. On the other hand, king *Richard* prepared a numerous army, and alſo drew together a powerful navy: yet, after all, there was no great matter done; for the *French* king's uncles, the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* fell at variance upon this head, and the deſign was ſo long protracted, that at laſt they were obliged to lay it aſide for that year [a]. *Mezeray* ſeems to attribute this to the duke of *Burgundy* [b]; but father *Daniel* aſcribes it to the duke of *Berry* [c]. However, it was not entirely given over, but rather deferred till the ſucceeding ſpring, when the *French* failed a ſecond time, partly through the treachery of the duke of *Bretagne*, and partly through the cowardice of admiral *de Vienne*. This man had been ſent with a fleet of ſixty ſhips to *Scotland*, in order to excite and enable the inhabitants of that kingdom, to make a diverſion; but he behaved there very indifferently, for he declined fighting the *Engliſh*, when they deſtroyed all the country before them, and entered into an amour with a princeſs of the royal blood, which, ſays *Mezeray*, the barbarous *Scots*, being ſtrangers to the *French* gallantry, took amiſs, and ſhewed their reſentment in ſuch a manner, as obliged him to leave their country very abruptly. On his return, he reported the *Engliſh* to conſiſt of ten thouſand horſe, and a hundred thouſand foot, which ſtruck the

[a] Hiſtoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385 [a] Froiſſard, vol. iii. cap. 25. [b] Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, vol. iii. p. 129. [c] Hiſtoire de la Milice de France, vol. ii. p. 448.

the *French* with terror. As for the duke of *Bretagne*, on ſome private diſtaſte, he clapped up the conſtable of *France* in priſon, who was to have commanded the forces that were to be tranſported in this mighty fleet; which new diſappointment fruſtrated the whole deſign. Father *Daniel* is juſt enough to acknowledge, that it is doubtful whether the duke, by this act of treachery, did the *Engliſh* or the *French* moſt ſervice; ſince, if this deſign had miſcarried, the greateſt part of the nobility of *France*, who were embarked therein, muſt have neceſſarily periſhed. As it was a great number of ſhips belonging to this huge fleet in ſailing from the haven of *Sluys*, were driven on the *Engliſh* coaſt and taken; and the year before the earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, with the *Engliſh* fleet, had attacked a great number of *French*, *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* merchant-men, and having beat their convoy, took upwards of a hundred ſail. Thus this wild ſcheme ended in the deſtruction of the naval power of *France*, which as it is in itſelf unnatural, ſo when ever it receives a conſiderable check, it is very hard to be reſtored again, as father *Daniel* tacitly acknowledges; for he owns, that during the remainder of the reign of *Charles* VI. as alſo during that of *Charles* VII. which takes in upwards of half a century, they attempted little or nothing by ſea, and not very much in the ſucceeding fifty years[d].

THE expedition of the duke of *Lancaſter* into *Spain*, deſerves to be mentioned in a work of this nature; for though it be true, that it did not concern the kingdom of *England*, yet as the whole naval ſtrength of the nation

[d] Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, vol. ii. p. 448. Stowe, Holingſhed. Speed, Brady, Tyrrel, &c.

was employed therein, and as the reputation of the *Engliſh* arms was ſpread thereby all over *Europe*, it would be unpardonable to omit it. The duke's title, notwithſtanding the ſlight put on it by ſome authors, was in reality a very good one: he claimed in right of his ſecond wife *Conſtantia*, who was the daughter of *Peter* the cruel king of *Caſtile*, whereas the poſſeſſor of that crown was of a baſtard line. The king of *Portugal* was likewiſe in his intereſt, and ſent into *England* ſeven gallies and eighteen ſhips, to join the duke's fleet, which was a long time in preparing. At length, about *Midſummer* 1386, he embarked with twenty thouſand men, and the flower of the *Engliſh* nobility, himſelf commanding the army, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* the fleet. The firſt exploit they performed was the relieving *Breſt*, at that time beſieged by the *French*, by which the duke gained great reputation; after this, embarking again with freſh proviſions and ſome recruits, they arrived at the port of *Corunna*, or as our ſailors call it, the *Groin*, on the ninth of *Auguſt*, and there ſafely landed their forces [e]. The king of *Portugal* behaved like a good ally, and many of the *Spaniſh* nobility acknowledged the duke for their king. Yet the war at the beginning was not attended with much ſucceſs, great ſickneſs waſting the *Engliſh* army, and through the precautions of *John* king of *Caſtile*, the country was ſo deſtroyed, that a famine enſued, which proved of ſtill worſe conſequence to the duke's affairs. By degrees, however, the ſoldiers recovered their health, and the duke, who had himſelf endured a ſharp fever reſumed his ſpirits, and continued the war with freſh vigour, and with better

[e] Froiſſard, Walſingham, Knighton, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

better fortune. *John* king of *Caſtile*, ſeeing his dominions deſtroyed, and the *French*, who had promiſed him great ſuccours very ſlow in performing, wiſely entered into a negotiation, which quickly ended in a peace [f]. By this treaty king *John* paid the duke about ſeventy thouſand pounds for the expences of the war, and aſſigned him and his dutcheſs, an annuity of ten thouſand pounds: the eldeſt daughter of the duke married *Henry* prince of *Aſturias*, king *John*'s heir, and the duke's ſecond daughter, eſpouſed the king of *Portugal*. After this agreement made, the duke with the remains of his army, which an eminent *French* writer ſays might amount to about a ſixth part of the forces he carried abroad [g], returned into *England* towards the end of the year 1389; and a little after the king was pleaſed to honour his uncle with the title of duke of *Aquitaine* [h].

In 1394, an inſurrection in *Ireland* obliged the king to paſs over thither, being attended by the duke of *Glouceſter*, the earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, and *Rutland*. In this expedition he had better fortune than in any other part of his life, reducing moſt of the petty princes to ſuch ſtreights, that they were glad to do him homage, and to give him hoſtages. But at the requeſt of the clergy, he returned too haſtily, in order to proſecute heretics, when he might have ſubdued his rebels, and ſettled that kingdom. This miſtake in his conduct proved afterwards fatal to his crown and life [i]. The diſputes he had with his nobility at home, inclined the king to put an end to all differences abroad, and therefore, after a long treaty it was

[f] Speed, Holingſhed. [g] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 134. [h] Walſingham, Stowe, Holingſhed Speed. [i] Chron. Hibern. A D. 1394.

was agreed, that king *Richard* ſhould eſpouſe the *French* princeſs *Iſabella*, though but a child between ſeven and eight years old. On this occaſion he paſſed over to *Calais*, where he had an interview with the *French* king, and having eſpouſed this young princeſs on the thirty-firſt of *October*, he ſoon after brought her home, and cauſed her to be crowned; but very little to the people's ſatisfaction, who fancied there was ſomething ominous in the loſs of part of her portion, in the ſhort paſſage between *Calais* and *Dover*, in a ſudden ſtorm [k]. Some time after he was drawn into a much more unpopular act, by giving up the fortreſs of *Cherburgh* to the king of *Navarre*, and the town of *Breſt* to the duke of *Britanny*; and the diſturbances which followed theſe meaſures in *England*, encouraged the *Iriſh* to rebel [l]. In the firſt fury of theſe people, they cut off *Roger Mortimer* earl of *March*, governor of *Ireland* for king *Richard*, and preſumptive heir of the crown. The news of this ſo much provoked the king, that he determined to paſs over into that iſland, in order to chaſtize the authors of ſo black a fact. With this view he drew together a conſiderable army, and a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he ſafely arrived at *Waterford*, in the ſpring of the year 1399 [m].

THE king had ſome ſucceſs in this, as he had in his former expedition, it being the conſtant foible of the *Iriſh* to be wonderfully ſtruck with the preſence of a prince, and the pomp of a court. But his ſucceſs was quickly interrupted by the mortifying news of his couſin *Henry* of *Lancaſter*'s being landed in *England*, and in open rebellion.

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[k] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. vii. p. 802. Stowe, Holingſhed, Mezeray, P. Daniel. [l] Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1395. [m] Walſingham, Knighton, Stowe.

bellion. This young nobleman, ſtiled in his father's life-time, firſt earl of *Derby*, and then duke of *Hereford*, had ever been of a martial diſpoſition, and had attained to great military ſkill, by ſerving in *Pruſſia* under the *Teutonic* knights. He had been very indifferently treated by king *Richard*, yet had no thoughts of pretending to the crown when he firſt returned home; but finding the people univerſally diſaffected, the king in *Ireland*, and himſelf ſurrounded by a number of briſk and active young noblemen, he grew bolder in his deſigns, though he ſtill acted with much caution. The king on the firſt advice of this rebellion returned into *England*, where he no ſooner arrived, than all his ſpirits failed him, inſomuch, that the firſt requeſt he made to the earl of *Northumberland* was, that he might have leave to reſign his kingdom[a]. The precedent of his grandfather *Edward* II. was too recent to leave the rebels any ſcruple of making uſe of the king's puſillanimous temper; they therefore brought him up priſoner to *London*, where he was committed to the *Tower*, and ſhortly after, by authority of parliament depoſed, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and was in the thirty-third year of his age. After which, his life was of no long continuance; for being carried from place to place, he at length ended his days at *Pomfret-Caſtle*, in the year 1401, but how, or with what circumſtances, is not clearly known to poſterity; ſome ſay, that hearing of the misfortunes which attended his friends, who endeavoured to reſtore him, and had miſerably loſt their lives in the attempt, he refuſed ſuſtenance, and ſtarved himſelf; others with greater probability affirm, that with hunger and

[a] Chronicon. Godſtovian, p. 126.

and cold, and other unheard-of torments, his cruel enemies removed him out of their way [o]; and to this opinion *Camden* inclined, who, in ſpeaking of *Pomfret-Caſtle*, ſays, it is a place *principum cæde & ſanguine infamis* [p].

THE hiſtory of our commerce within this period of time would be equally curious and uſeful, if carefully and impartially collected from our records and hiſtories. What I have to offer on this head, is only the fruit of my own reflections upon ſome remarkable paſſages, that in the compoſition of this hiſtory appeared of too great importance, in reference to the ſubjects under my conſideration, to be paſſed by without notice, amongſt a long train of common events. Such obſervations I conceive may be of more uſe; becauſe, generally ſpeaking, our writers upon political arithmetick, have very rarely carried their reſearches ſo high as theſe times, from a notion very probably, that there was not much in them to their purpoſe, in which, however, I muſt confeſs myſelf of a very different ſentiment, being fully ſatisfied, that many points of the greateſt conſequence might be very much enlightened, if due attention were paid to ſuch occurrences in theſe times, as any way regard our foreign and domeſtic trade, the ſcarcity and plenty of coin, and the different ſtate of the finances of our ſeveral monarchs; for all which, tho' there may not be ſufficient materials to compoſe a compleat hiſtory, yet there are more than enough to convince us, that the vulgar opinion of the poverty of our anceſtors in paſt times, is very far from being founded in truth; but is rather the conſequence of an ill-grounded complaiſance for our own age.

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[o] Thom. Walſingham. Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ, Harding's chronicle, Stowe, Speed.

[p] Deſcript. Brit. p. 383.

WE have before obſerved, that *Henry* I. left behind him a very large ſum of money at his deceaſe; his grandſon *Henry* II. reigned about the ſame ſpace of time, that is, four months ſhort of thirty-five years, as his grandfather reigned four months more than that number of years; their tempers were much alike with reſpect to œconomy, that is to ſay, both of them were inclined to collect and leave behind them as much wealth as they could; the former for the ſake of eſtabliſhing his family, the latter, that he might make a proviſion for the expedition into the *Holy-Land*, which he certainly had very much at heart. But *Henry* II. at his demiſe, left in gold and ſilver, excluſive of jewels and other curioſities, the ſum of nine hundred thouſand pounds, which would be a thing altogether incredible, if we had not as good authority for this, as for any hiſtorical fact whatever [q]. It is indeed true, that ſome writers have repreſented him as an avaritious, and even rapacious prince, but the facts which they aſſign to prove this are ſuch, as will ſcarce ſatisfy an impartial reader. He levied from time to time, conſiderable ſums upon the *Jews*, who were the money'd people of thoſe days; he had conſiderable aids from his nobility, and he kept biſhopricks and other eccleſiaſtical benefices in his hands for ſeveral years together. His predeceſſors however, had done as much without acquiring any ſuch treaſure, and therefore we may conclude from this fact, that the nation was become much richer.

IT

[q] The words of Matthew Paris, my author, are theſe, *Inventa ſunt plura quam nongenta millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utenſilia & jocalia & lapides pretioſos.* The will of this great monarch, is preſerved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, publiſhed by Hearne, but in this we find none but charitable legacies.

IT is ſaid, and very truly ſaid, that coin or ready money, is the PULSE of a ſtate; if it beats high and even, there is no reaſon to queſtion the health of the body politic; but if it grows low and intermits, even wiſe men may be allowed to doubt as to the public ſafety. We may therefore ſafely collect, that the trade of this kingdom was very much increaſed during the courſe of this reign, tho' we had no other argument to prove it, ſince in the ſame ſpace of time, and without having recourſe to any extraordinary methods, this monarch was able to leave, after beſtowing very conſiderable ſums in ready money for the holy war, a treaſure nine times as great as that of his grandfather, tho' he was looked upon as the richeſt prince of his time.

THE beginning of king RICHARD's reign was very fatal to the eſtates and revenues of the crown, as the latter end of it was exceſſively burthenſome upon his people, yet thoſe, who from the difficulty of paying his ranſom would infer, that this kingdom was grown wretchedly poor, and that the wealth of the nation was nothing then, to what it is now, are far from being ſo much in the right as they may imagine, as will appear from hence, that *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when he deſired the king's leave to withdraw from the adminiſtration, gave this as his reaſon, *viz.* that there had been levied upon the ſubjects in the years 1195 and 1196, the ſum of one million one hundred thouſand marks [r], which I have the authority

[r] Rog. Hovedon, p. 767, 768. aſſures us the ſcope of that prelate's letter to the king, was to ſhew how much the wealth of England was exhauſted, and as a proof added, *Quod infra Biennium proximo præteritum, adquiſierat ad opus illius undecies centena millia marcarum argenti de regno Angliæ.* Robert de Brunne, in his chronicle

thority of an ingenious and judicious writer to bear me out in affirming, was equal to eleven millions in our times [s]. So that it was not the poverty of the kingdom which made the impoſitions of thoſe days ſeem inſupportably hard, but the impoſitions themſelves were ſo exceſſive and ſo often repeated, as that they really made the nation poor.

ANOTHER thing to be obſerved in regard to this reign, is the tax or rather ſubſidy, given in *wool*, which is the firſt time any thing of that nature occurs in hiſtory, tho' without all doubt, wool was long before one of the principal ſtaple commodities of this country. If we look into this affair carefully, we ſhall find ſomething in it very different from what is commonly underſtood; for it was not a tax impoſed upon wool for leave to export it, a thing frequent in ſucceeding times, and which, for any thing we know, might not have been altogether new even then. It was not a grant to the crown of a certain quantity of wool, which was the *land-tax* of thoſe times, and very commonly granted to his ſucceſſors; but it was a *loan* taken from the *Ciſtercian* monks, who then exported the wool of this iſland to *Flanders* and other countries, the

chronicle informs us, that tho' the ſums levied were large, yet the king's viſible neceſſity, and the bad behaviour of king Philip of France, made the nobility contribute chearfully to their maſter's aſſiſtance, as well in their perſons as out of their purſes.

[s] The author referr'd to in the text is Dr. Davenant, who in his diſcourſe on grants and reſumptions, p. 112, not only ſays what I have mentioned, but farther, that what was given to king Richard was more than was really levied on the people in any two years of king William's war. If ſo, why might not the whole neceſſary ſupplies have been raiſed, which could not (the difference of times conſidered) have been in any degree ſo oppreſſive as what our anceſtors endured, rather than a debt created, which has proved ever ſince an accumulating burthen?

the produce of which for that year was received to the king's uſe, in order to compleat his ranſom, and was to be repaid; and perhaps the different accounts we have of the ſum to which that amounted, might be owing, in ſome meaſure, to this manner of raiſing it; but however, theſe things may ſtand, there is nothing clearer, than that the vaſt ſums raiſed in this reign, muſt have been brought into this iſland by foreign trade, that is, by the produce of our commodities and manufactures. The latter without queſtion, were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what they have ſince been, and yet not altogether ſo inconſiderable as is commonly thought; but as for our ſtaple commodities, we certainly had them then as well as now, and I believe there is ſome reaſon to think, that they were not only exported in very large quantities, but were alſo vended in foreign markets at very high prices, that is, the proportion of things in thoſe times, and in theſe, being duly weighed and conſidered [t].

IN the reign of king *JOHN*, if we may believe moſt of our hiſtorians, there was nothing but oppreſſion and taxes, and immenſe ſums of money from time to time levied upon the nation, which however is a proof there was money in the nation, as the great number of ſeamen he had conſtantly in employment, ſhews there muſt have been trade. The *Ciſtercian* monks were ſtill the exporters of wool, and that this was no inconſiderable thing, may appear

[t] Two things principally contributed in thoſe days, to turn the ſcale of trade in our favour; firſt, we were not given to refined luxury, if we indulged in any extraordinary degree, it was in our native and unpurchaſed bleſſings, which made our wants the leſs; And ſecondly, commerce not being ſo extenſive, ſome of our ſtaple commodities were highly valued, and this brought in the more money

appear from hence, that they charge the king with taking from them by violence in the ſpace of a few years, ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds. It may be, he only took by violence what they had before got by fraud; for why ſuch vaſt ſums were to reſt in the hands of religious men, when the public treaſury was empty, it will be hard to render a juſt reaſon. The ſame king is ſaid to have impriſoned an archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, till he extorted from him twenty-two thouſand marks; this might be injuſtice in the king, but public affairs could not be well regulated, when a clergyman of his rank was able to pay ſo much [u]. If king *John* had not bore ſo hard upon the prieſts and monks, they would have furniſhed, or at leaſt, they would have allowed him a better character in their chronicles, if he had been more indulgent to his nobility, they might poſſibly have been more loyal; but if he had not ſhewn himſelf a lover of *trade*, and a kind maſter to the *commons*, he would not have had the ſeamen, the ſea-ports, and the trading towns at his devotion, *London* only excepted; and amongſt other provocations given to her, it was no ſmall one, that this monarch favoured the out ports, ſo that the trade of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* approached in

[u] Matthew Paris, Ralph Coggeſhale, and John Everſden, are the chief authors of what is reported of king John's exceſſive taxations, and the firſt of theſe ſpeaks of him in a manner ſo full of indecency, that one naturally ſuſpects ſo angry a writer, of ſometimes making free with truth. An unmarried clergy immenſely rich, was equally repugnant to the principles of ſound policy and of the goſpel; the king therefore might well take ſomewhat from their immenſe revenues for the public ſervice, without deſerving to be thought either tyrant or infidel, tho' theſe charitable authors have pawned their credit with poſterity, that he was both.

ſome degree to that of *London*, as appears from the cuſtoms in both, during this reign.

IT has been hinted, that our manufactures were not quite ſo low at this time as they are generally repreſented, and it looks like a proof of this, that in the 19th year of *HENRY* III. there paſſed a law for regulating ſome branches of the weaving buſineſs, and it appears from this very law, that the branches regulated thereby, were different kinds of broad cloth. This does not indeed ſhew when we began to make cloth; for without doubt, this could not be then a new manufacture, but it plainly ſhews, that we had it in a good degree of perfection above a hundred years, before moſt of our hiſtories ſpeak of its introduction into *England* [w]. In this king's reign aroſe the firſt complaints about clipping of money, which not only produced a ſtandard [x], but alſo a new regulation, which tho'

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[w] Some circumſtances relative to this manufacture, are mentioned in the reign of Henry II. nor does it then appear to be a new thing, but rather the contrary. It was in this reign if not ſooner, introduced into Scotland, which put the government on contriving methods to prevent wool being carried thither from any of the northern counties, but with very little ſucceſs.

[x] There is ſome diverſity in our old hiſtorians, and much more amongſt our modern critics about this matter, we will give the truth as near, and in as few words as we can. King John is by ſome reckoned the author of our ſtandard, but this muſt be with regard to fineneſs eſpecially; the ſterling, or eſterling, which was the name of a penny made of good ſilver, being introduced in his reign. As to weight, Thomas Rudborn tells us, William the Conqueror ordained, A. D. 1083. that a penny ſhould weigh thirty-two grains of wheat out of the midſt of the ear, and the ſtatute 53 H. 3. ſays the very ſame thing. But however, there was a diſtinction tho' not a difference. It was found by experience, that grains of wheat differed in weight, that thoſe kept for the king's ballance were affected by the weather, and that no certainty could ariſe while this method was continued. It was agreed

tho' it proved a remedy for the evil, was accounted almoſt as great an evil, as that which it was intended to cure. In ſhort, the taking money by *tale*, as is the cuſtom now, and which firſt began to grow into a cuſtom, then, was prohibited, and people were directed to pay and receive by *weight*, in the manner that has been before deſcribed.

THERE are few princes that have ſat upon this throne, whoſe behaviour we find repreſented in a worſe light to poſterity than that of this monarch, for he had the misfortune like his father, to be upon bad terms with the barons and the clergy, who, not contented with keeping him a beggar all his life, have tranſmitted his memory to ſucceeding times, with as heavy a load of infamy upon it as was in their power. It is out of doubt, that king *HENRY* did levy large ſums upon his people, which *Matthew Paris*, who lived in his time, and wrote the hiſtory of his reign, has very dexterouſly magnified, by reckoning the ſame tax ſometimes over and over again [y]. Upon the whole he tells us, that in the ſpace of forty-one years (he reigned in the whole fifty-ſix) that he had been the ſpoiler of the kingdom, he had not taken leſs than nine hundred and fifty thouſand marks; yet the

agreed therefore, that twenty four pieces of braſs, equal in weight to the thirty-two grains of wheat, ſhould be ſubſtituted, as an eaſy number to divide, and thenceforward the penny weight was ſaid to contain twenty-four grains.

[y] When an hiſtorian writes with a viſible leaning to one ſide, the reader to ſet things ſtraight muſt lean a little to the other. King Henry might have, and to be ſure had great faults, but there was the leſs need to magnify them. Matthew Paris furniſhes matter for his own refutation; he acknowledges the nobility were always rebellious, and yet blames the king for loving ſtrangers, he exclaims againſt his avarice, and owns he gave away all he could obtain.

reader has ſeen, that king *RICHARD* levied conſiderably more than this ſum in two years. He might very well want extraordinary ſupplies, if what the ſame monk in another place [z] inadvertently tells us was true, that the whole ordinary revenue of the crown fell conſiderably ſhort of ſixteen thouſand pounds a year.

IF we ſhould conclude from theſe clamours, from the meanneſs of the king's circumſtances, and from the diſtreſſes to which king *HENRY* was driven, that the nation was quite exhauſted, and that the nobility and clergy, who always complained and often rebelled, were plundered and pillaged till they had nothing left to ſubſiſt them, we ſhould be extreamly miſtaken. The king's brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, laid up out of his eſtate near two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, with a part of which he purchaſed the diadem of *Germany*. We are alſo told, that the lord *Warine*, who is ſaid to be the wiſeſt, and yet not affirmed to be the richeſt baron in *England*, diſpoſed by will of two hundred thouſand marks, which he had by him in money [a]; ſo that private men (if the nobility in thoſe times might be ſo called) were really very

[z] It is in a manner by accident that Matthew Paris lets us into this important point. For inveighing againſt the papal oppreſſions he ſays, that the revenue of the alien clergy in England, amounted to no leſs than ſeventy thouſand marks per ann. when the king's ordinary income came to ſcarce a third part of that ſum, which conſidering the largeneſs of the king's family, was even in thoſe days a pitiful thing.

[a] Mat. Paris, p. 908. n. 10. I cite the place ſo particularly, becauſe Sir Wm. Dugdale in his baronage, vol. i. p. 561. after making very honourable mention of this Warine de Muntchenſi, and ſpeaking particularly of his great riches, ſets down what he diſpoſed of by his will at no more than two thouſand marks, which is viſibly a miſtake, as he quotes the very ſame author that I do, and the ſame edition.

very rich, tho' their king was often in a ſtate of downright want. In ſhort, property was in thoſe days ſtrangely divided, and tho' by the ballance of trade, vaſt ſums were brought into the nation, yet a very great part of theſe came into the coffers of the monks, and of the jews, and as for the remaining produce of domeſtic induſtry, it was almoſt wholly ſwallow'd up by the barons and the prieſts.

IN the glorious reign of *EDWARD* I. we find many things worſt obſerving, and firſt, as to the coin; for tho' the fineneſs thereof had been eſtabliſhed in the reign of his grandfather, and various regulations made in his father's long adminiſtration, yet in his time it was, that the matter was entirely ſettled, and put into ſuch a condition, as that in ſucceeding times the manner only has been ſuſceptible of change. This was done in the ſeventh year of his reign, when he fixed the weight of his round ſilver penny, at the rate of the twentieth part of an ounce troy, whence our denomination of a penny weight; as to the fineneſs, it remained the ſame as before, that is, there were eleven ounces two penny weight of fine ſilver, and eighteen penny weight [b] alloy in a pound of ſilver, which was coined into two hundred and forty pence. However in the twenty-eighth of his reign, he reduced his penny

[b] There is now hardly to be hoped, that any clear account ſhould be gained of the motives on which this change was made, but by the ſmallneſs of it, there is good reaſon to conclude, that it was rather for the ſervice of the ſtate than to ſerve a turn. But it is time to ſhew what this change was. The pound of ſilver hitherto accounted equal to twenty ſhillings, was now raiſed to twenty and three-pence, the ſhilling (or rather twelve pence) weighed two hundred ſixty-four, inſtead of two hundred eighty-eight grains, and in ſhort ſilver was by this means raiſed from twenty-pence, to twenty-pence farthing an ounce.

what, and this was the firſt variation of its kind from the *Saxon* times. It was the weight and purity of his coin that tempted the *Jews* over hither in greater numbers than ever, to exerciſe their laudable trades of uſury and clipping, for which laſt offence he hanged two hundred and eighty of them at once, and having in vain endeavoured to moderate the rigour of the former, he at length baniſhed them out of his dominions, to the number of fifteen thouſand, to prevent their preying upon the induſtry of his ſubjects; having exhorted them more than once by proclamation, to apply themſelves to honeſt labour, or to the exerciſe of lawful trades, and to forbear extortion. In 1299, the king ſettled as a dowry upon *Margaret* daughter to the king of *France*, eighteen thouſand livres *per ann.* which amounted to four thouſand five hundred pounds *Sterling*; ſo that four *French* livres were then worth an *Engliſh* pound [c], which is a point of great conſequence towards underſtanding the tranſactions of thoſe times.

In this king's reign there were certain ſilver mines wrought in *Devonſhire* to conſiderable profit, in the 22d year of his reign, they produced from the 12th of *Auguſt* to the laſt of *October*, three hundred and ſeventy pound weight of ſilver, the next year five hundred twenty-one pounds and a half, in the 24th year, ſeven hundred and four pounds; they yielded afterwards more, but how much more is not ſaid, nor have we any account when they were wore out [d]. We may form ſome judgment of the

[c] This comparative value of coin, is a ſubject hitherto hardly conſidered, and yet ancient hiſtories are unintelligible, without a due regard being had to it.

[d] Theſe mines were open'd again in queen Elizabeth's time, and alſo ſince, but have not anſwered the coſt of working.

the courſe of trade in his time from hence, that having occaſion to borrow a large ſum of money for carrying on his wars againſt the *Welch*, he took up eight thouſand marks from the city of *London*, and one thouſand from the port of *Yarmouth*. In reference to the wealth of private men, there is a particular fact recorded that gives us ſome light. The judges were found to have been guilty of corruption, and were fined amongſt them one hundred thouſand marks, of which Sir *Edward Stratton* paid thirty-four thouſand [e]. There was in his reign a great clamour againſt foreign merchants, who now began to keep houſes and wareheuſes of their own in the city of *London*; whereas before they lodged in ſome citizen's houſe, who was their broker; and to this the citizens would very willingly have reduced things again, but the king and his council held, that it was for the public benefit they ſhould remain as they were.

IN the reign of EDWARD II. we meet with very little to our purpoſe, unleſs this ſhould be thought ſo, that upon the depoſing of this unhappy monarch, the allowance ſettled for his maintenance in priſon, was one hundred marks a month, or eight hundred pounds a year; yet this monarch had given to the lady *Theophania* a *French* woman, who was nurſe to his queen *Iſabella*, an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year [f]. The taxes in his reign were very inconſiderable.

IN the reign of EDWARD III. *Anno Domini* 1331. the king granted a protection to one *John Kent* a cloth-wea-

[e] Mat. Weſt. p. 414. n. 10. Knyghton. col. 2466. Thomas Wayland, who was the moſt guilty, loſt his whole eſtate.

[f] My author for the firſt of theſe facts is Thomas Walſingham, and for the latter Mr. Rymer, both unqueſtionable in ſuch points.

ver, who came over from *Flanders*, and at the ſame time invited over fullers and dyers [g], from whence it has been ſuppoſed, that cloathing was then introduced into this kingdom, which is directly contrary to truth, that trade having been here long before, indeed ſo long before, that there is no record extant to ſhew when it was introduced. As king *Edward* was a very martial prince in his temper, and his reign almoſt a continued ſeries of wars, there were ſucceſſive impoſitions levied upon his ſubjects, and theſe amounting to ſuch vaſt ſums as very clearly prove, that at the beginning of his reign, *England* was far richer than in the times of any of his predeceſſors.

SOME attempts have been made, to ſettle, by the help of the taxes in this reign, the manner in which they were levied, and the produce of them, the value of our wool; and without doubt, ſomething very near the truth may be diſcovered, if we proceed cautiouſly. In the year 1338, the laity [h] granted him one half of their wool, and the clergy nine marks a ſack upon their beſt wool. We know not what number of ſacks the king received, but it is ſaid, that he ſent over ten thouſand ſacks into *Brabant*, which produced him four hundred thouſand pounds, that is, at the rate of forty pound a ſack one with another; and from this, ſome writers think themſelves warranted to compute the produce of our wool in foreign markets,

[g] Rymer's Fœder. tom. iv. p. 496. There is very little reaſon to doubt, that the true reaſons of theſe encouragements were firſt of all inſtructing our own people in the utmoſt perfection of this capital art, and next, drawing over the workmen here, that as we roſe in that manufacture, our neighbours might alſo gradually decline.

[h] The computations mentioned in the text, are to be found in the hiſtorical account of taxes, p. 106.

markets, at leaſt at forty pounds a ſack, and by the help of this calculation, they eſtimate our annual exportations at a very large ſum. We will ſhew firſt what this is, and then conſider whether it be right, or whether the price ſhould not be reduced.

WHEN it is ſaid, that we know not what quantity of wool the king received by that grant, it is to be underſtood, that we know it not from the hiſtorians who mention this grant; but it appears from the records, that it amounted to twenty thouſand ſacks [1]. Thoſe who made the computation of which we have been ſpeaking, compute the exportation of wool, that year, at forty thouſand ſacks, which amounts to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and the aid to the king, comes to half that money, which, they ſay, is amazing and prodigious, and indeed, well they might. But when a grant was afterwards made to the king of thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, we find it eſtimated far lower, *viz.* at ſix pounds a ſack, the very beſt, the ſecond ſort at five, and the worſt at four pounds a ſack, which, however, was excluſive of the king's duty or cuſtom. This computation was certainly very fair, and this grant to the king, was in the nature of a land-tax, which is the reaſon, that the produce of it, was computed at the rate wool ſold here, tho' there is no manner of doubt, that by exporting and ſelling it abroad, the king made much more of it. We will try, however, if it be not practicable, to extract ſomething more certain out of the facts mentioned by ancient authors, becauſe if it could be done, it would be very ſatisfactory.

A

[1] By this method of receiving taxes in kind, the king became in ſome meaſure a merchant, and that to his great profit.

A CERTAIN writer has preſerved the ſtate or balance of the *Engliſh* trade as found upon record in the exchequer, in the 28th year of this monarch, and there is no reaſon to ſuſpect its authenticity [k]. In this the export of wool is ſet down at thirty one thouſand ſix hundred fifty one ſacks and a half, valued at ſix pounds a ſack, but then the duty is excluded. It appears alſo from this account, that

[k] This account was publiſhed in a treatiſe, intitled, *The Circle* printed in 1633. After drawing from it the remarks mention'd der, and render my obſervations more perſpicuous, if a plate was

The balance of the *Engliſh* trade in the 28th year of *Ed-*

EXPORTS.

	l	*s.*	*d*
One and thirty thouſand ſix hundred fifty-one ſacks and a half of wool, at ſix pounds value each ſack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five felts at forty ſhillings value each hundred at ſix ſcore, amount to	6,073	1	8
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to	81,624	1	1
Fourteen laſt, ſeventeen dicker and five hides of leather, after ſix pounds value the laſt	89	5	0
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to	6	17	6
Four thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy-four cloths and an half, after forty ſhillings value, the cloth is	9,549	0	0
Eight thouſand and ſixty-one pieces and an half of worſted, after 6s. 8d. value, the piece is	6,717	18	4
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to	215	13	7
Exports	294,184	17	2

N. B. The totals do not anſwer the particulars exactly, but at with any degree of certainty.

that a conſiderable quantity of cloth, both fine and coarſe, and of worſted alſo, was exported. We cannot therefore, doubt, that when the commons granted king *Edward* thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, it was at leaſt as much as giving him one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds in money, out of their pockets. But if we are inclined to know what it brought the king, we may, perhaps, find the means

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of Commerce, p. 119, 120, written by Mr. *Edward Miſſelden*, and in the text, I thought it would be for the conveniency of the rea- allowed this curious paper in the notes.

ward III. as ſaid to be found upon record in the exchequer.

IMPORTS.

	£	s.	d.
One thouſand eight hundred thirty-two cloths, after ſix pounds value the cloth	10,992	0	6
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to	91	12	0
Three hundred ninety-ſeven quintals and three quarters of wax, after the value of 40s. the hundred or quintal	759	10	0
Whereof the cuſtom is	19	17	9
One thouſand eight hundred twenty-nine tons and a half of wine, after 40s. value *per* ton	3,659	0	0
Whereof the cuſtom is	182	0	0
Linnen cloth, mercery and grocery wares, and all other manner of merchandize	22,943	6	10
Whereof the cuſtom is	285	18	3
Imports	38,970	13	8
Balance	255,214	13	8

this diſtance of time, it is impoſſible to aim at correcting them

means of diſcovering that. In the laſt year of his reign, the citizens of *York*, complained that a *German* lord, had ſeized thirty ſix ſurples of their wool, which they valued at one thouſand nine hundred pounds, for a debt due from the king, and according to this reckoning, wool was worth, in that country, thirteen pounds a ſack, and ſomething more; ſo that the aid granted to the king, could not produce much leſs than four hundred thouſand pounds, which was a very large ſum for thoſe days.

BUT we muſt not part with this account, without drawing from it, ſome other obſervations; we find, the whole imports of that year, computed at ſomething leſs than thirty-nine thouſand pounds, whereas the exports amounted to above two hundred ninety-four thouſand pounds; ſo that the clear balance in favour of this nation, was above two hundred and ninety-five thouſand pounds. Yet this is not all, we muſt conſider that in this account, there is no notice taken of lead and tin, probably, becauſe the accounts relating to them, might not be brought into the exchequer, that is, not into the exchequer at *Weſtminſter*, which will raiſe the account very conſiderably, inſomuch, that there ſeems very good reaſon to believe, the intrinſic value of the coin in thoſe days, being compared with ours, the whole balance of trade, fell very little, if at all, ſhort of nine hundred thouſand pounds, as our money is now reckoned, which is, indeed, a very large ſum, and very much beyond what thoſe who had never looked into

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[1] This foreign nobleman had ſerved the king in his wars, and pretended ſo much money was due to him; he had alſo ſhips in our ports, with goods on board, which the citizens thus injured, deſired might be ſeized.

into theſe matters could poſſibly have imagined. Yet the probability, at leaſt, if not the truth of this computation, might be ſhewn in another way, that is, from the conſideration of the immenſe ſums that were conſumed by this monarch, in foreign wars and alliances, which it is impoſſible this nation could have ever furniſhed, if the balance of trade had fallen any thing ſhort of what it appears to be from the foregoing computation.

THAT trade was very much the object of king *Edward*'s attention, and of his parliaments, very fully appears, from the many acts of parliament, made within the compaſs of his reign, for its regulation. It is, indeed, true, that ſeveral of theſe laws are contradictory, that what was eſtabliſhed in one year, was ſometimes overturned in the next; that frequent alterations were made in the ſtaple; that the cuſtoms were ſometimes high, ſometimes low, and that the ſtandard of money was twice varied; but notwithſtanding all this, the former aſſertion will ſtill remain unimpeached, ſince there can be nothing clearer, than that theſe variations, aroſe from the regard that was paid to commerce, and, perhaps, the alteration in the coin was made neceſſary, from the conduct in that particular of our neighbours. We likewiſe find, that towards the latter end of this king's reign, there were great frauds and impoſitions committed in obtaining licenſes [m], for the exportation of goods, and in other reſpects, of which complaints were made in parliament, againſt the lord *Latimer*, the king's chamberlain, and *Richard Lyons*, of *London*, merchant, for which they were convicted and puniſhed.

KING

[m] An inquiſitive reader may conſult *Barnes*'s hiſtory of this reign, but the records are ſtill fuller and clearer.

KING EDWARD the third, was the firſt of our princes, who coined groſſes, or groats, ſo called from their being the groſſeſt, or greateſt of all money, the ſilver-penny having been till then, the largeſt coin in uſe. The purity of the ſtandard he never debaſed, but in the twentieth year of his reign, he ſaw reaſon to make it lighter; ſo that inſtead of twenty ſhillings, the pound of ſilver was raiſed to the value of twenty-two ſhillings and ſix-pence, and in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, the value of a pound of ſilver was raiſed to twenty-five ſhillings. The reader will obſerve, that the ſhilling was imaginary then, as the pound is ſtill, or rather, it was a denomination of money, and not a coin. He alſo firſt coined the noble, half noble, and quarter noble, in gold; for, before his time, none of our kings had ſtampt any gold. He likewiſe called in all clipt money, and prohibited baſe coin, which ſhews, that what he did in altering the weight of his coin, was for the conveniency and benefit of his ſubjects, who, by the increaſe of their trade, ſtood in need both of gold coin, and of larger pieces of ſilver, and not with any intention to enrich himſelf at their expence; tho' the contrary is aſſerted, by an ancient hiſtorian, who charges *William Eddington*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and lord-treaſurer, with conſulting the king's profit, more than that of the kingdom, by adviſing him to coin groats, that were not ſo heavy as they ſhould be. There was alſo ſome variation in the value of gold in his time, a pound of that metal coined, going ſometimes for fifteen, then for little more than thirteen, afterwards for fourteen pounds of their money; but at length the king raiſed it again to its old price of fifteen pounds [n], which,

[n] As one ſhilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an ounce of gold then worth twenty-five ſhillings, was, in fact, at three pounds fifteen of our money; ſo that the proportions between gold and ſilver, have not altered very much ſince that time.

which, all things conſidered, is pretty near the proportion that it now holds, only king *Edward*'s gold was ſomewhat finer than our coin is at preſent.

IN the reign of RICHARD the ſecond, we find a great many laws relating to trade, and it appears to have been a great controverſy then, whether foreign merchants ſhould, or ſhould not be allowed to vend their commodities freely in *London*, and other corporations. The ſenſe of the legiſlature, as appears from their laws, was in favour of the foreign merchants; but the clamour ſtill continued, and parliaments were ſeldom held without petitions for the redreſs of this, which was called a grievance. It was alſo deſired, that the ſtaple of wool might be removed from *Calais* to ſome town in *England*, and *Michael de la Poole*, earl of *Suffolk*, and chancellor of *England*, a nobleman eſteemed to be very knowing in points of this kind, declared publickly in parliament, that the king's ſubſidy on wools, yielded a thouſand marks a year more when the ſtaple was in *England*, then when it was fixed at *Calais*, which is a proof, that the exportation was greater [o].

AS the foreign wars in this reign, were of little conſequence, and proſecuted with no great vigour, ſo whatever ſums were levied upon the people, and in what manner ſoever they were diſſipated, by their profuſe prince, yet this being all amongſt themſelves, and the balance of foreign trade continuing, and perhaps increaſing, the wealth of the nation could not but be prodigiouſly augmented. To this, ſome writers attribute the broils and diſturbances of this reign, in which, if there be any truth, it muſt have been owing

[o] The family of this chancellor, had acquired an immenſe eſtate by trade, and other inſtances might be given in theſe times.

owing to the unequal diſtribution of property: this, indeed, is certain, that the commons complained loudly of oppreſſion from the lords, and from the lawyers, as on the other hand, both the nobility and the commons, were highly incenſed againſt the clergy, on account, as they alledged, of their haughtineſs and avarice; but the churchmen ſuggeſted, that the luxury of the age was ſo great, that notwithſtanding their vaſt eſtates, the expences of the nobility exceeded their income, and was the principal cauſe that inclined them to form cabals, for alienating and dividing amongſt themſelves the revenues of the church.

As to the coinage in this reign, it remained in a great meaſure, at leaſt, upon the ſame foot as in the former, and therefore, there is no need of dwelling upon it; one thing, however, deſerves to be inſiſted upon, which is this, the great luxury of theſe times, had ſo viſibly increaſed the importation of foreign commodities, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and in the laſt year of king *Richard*'s reign, a law paſſed, by which it was provided, that every merchant ſhould bring into the tower of *London*, an ounce of foreign gold coin, for every ſack of wool exported, or pay thirteen ſhillings and four-pence for his default, and to give ſecurity for the performance of this before he was allowed to export the wool into foreign parts. There was alſo a law made in this reign, allowing every perſon to make cloth of what length and breadth he would, ſo that in thoſe days, they thought it very practicable to encourage the cloathing manufactury, without reſtraining the ſubject from tranſporting wool, and this upon the plain principle, of doing nothing that might ſink the price of this ſtaple commodity, which brought in continually ſuch vaſt ſupplies of bullion, and which, it is likely, they knew

not

not how to obtain, in caſe the exportation of wool had been put under any ſevere reſtriction [p].

THESE obſervations on a period of ſo great extent, in which it may be eaſily conceived, that matters of this nature muſt have ſuffered many changes and alterations, cannot but be acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the illuſtration of the principal points, with which our hiſtory is concerned; for naval force, and the ſovereignty of the ſea, being the reſult of extenſive commerce, whatever contributes to explain the riſe and progreſs of that, muſt ſhew how thoſe are to be kept, as well as demonſtrate how they have been obtained.

WITHIN this period there happened, or at leaſt there are ſaid to have happened, ſome extraordinary diſcoveries, of which therefore we ought to ſpeak: firſt then it is affirmed, that *America* was diſcovered by the *Welch*, about the year 1170. The ſtory is thus told, that on the death of *Owen Guyneth*, diſſentions aroſe among his ſons: one of them, whoſe name was *Madock*, reſolved to truſt the ſafety of himſelf, and ſuch as were with him, rather to the mercy of the ſeas, than to the uncertain iſſue of a civil war; and therefore, imbarking with his followers on board a few ſhips well-victualled, he put to ſea, in ſearch of new countries. Accordingly he ſailed due weſt, till ſuch time as he left *Ireland* to the north, and then continued his voyage till he came to a large, fruitful, and pleaſant country. After ſome time ſpent therein, he returned home, and reported the happy effects of his voyage, and the large poſſeſſions which every man might acquire who would go with him. He at length prevailed with as

[p] It may deſerve the conſideration of an able ſtateſman, whether ſome uſe might not be ſtill made of this maxim of our anceſtors.

many of both ſexes as filled ten ſhips, and with theſe he returned to his new plantation; but neither he nor his people were heard of more [q]. It muſt be confeſſed, that there is nothing here which abſolutely fixes this diſcovery to *America*; though it muſt likewiſe be owned, that the courſe before ſet down, might very poſſibly carry him thither. The great point is, to know how far the fact may be depended upon, and in relation to this, I will venture to aſſure the reader, that there are authentic records in the *Britiſh* tongue as to this expedition of *Madock's*, wherever he went, prior to the diſcovery of *America* by *Columbus*; and that many probable arguments may be offered in ſupport of this notion, that theſe *Britons* were the diſcoverers of that new world, is alſo true, tho' at preſent we have not opportunity to inſiſt upon them.

SOME reports there are concerning great diſcoveries in the north made by a friar of *Oxford*, one *Nicholas de Linna*. Of this man the famous *John Dee*, who was both a great antiquary and a ſkilful mathematician, informs us, that in the year 1360, being the thirty-fourth of *Edward* III. he ſailed in company with ſeveral of his countrymen to the northern iſlands, and there leaving his aſſociates, he travelled alone, and drew up an exact deſcription of all the northern countries, with their ſurrounding ſeas, which book he entitled, *Inventio fortunata*, or a diſcovery of the northern parts from the latitude of fifty-four

[q] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1. Meredith ap Reece, a cambrian Bard, who died A. D. 1477, compoſed an ode in his native language on this expedition, from which the particulars above-mentioned are taken; and this was prior to Columbus's diſcovery: ſo that fact could never have encouraged the framing of this fable, even ſuppoſing it to be ſo.

four degrees, to the pole, and presented it at his return to king *Edward*. However, for the better settling these discoveries, he returned no less than five times into those northern regions. To render this odd story somewhat more probable, Mr. *Dee* remarks, that from the haven of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, of which this friar was both a native and an inhabitant, to *Iceland*, was not above a fortnight's sail, and in those days a common thing, as appears particularly by a charter granted to the town of *Blakeney* in *Norfolk*, by king *Edward* III. exempting the fishermen of that port from attending his service, on account of their trade to *Ireland*[r]. This is in some measure confirmed by the testimony of that famous geographer *Gerard Mercator*, who confesses that he borrowed his description of the northern countries, from one who owned his having them from this friar of *Oxford*, whom he well describes, though he does not name him. Yet it must be acknowledged, that *Leland* speaks very largely of this *Nicholas* of *Lynn*, who, according to his account, was a *Carmelite*, and a great astrologer; but in all his elogium, there is not a syllable concerning his travels, though he concludes with saying, that his works sufficiently praised him[s]. *John Bale* transcribes this account of *Leland*'s exactly, but gives us a much more copious detail of the friar's writings; and yet even in his list, we meet with nothing as to this *Inventio fortunata*: though on the other hand we must allow, that *Bale* says he wrote other things which he had not seen[t].

[r] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 121. [s] Commentar. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 347. [t] Scriptor. Britan. vol. i. p. 468.

THE diſcovery of the iſland of *Madera* is likewiſe attributed to one *Macham* an *Engliſhman*, which is thus reported by ſeveral of the *Portugueze* writers. They ſay, that this man having ſtolen a lady with whom he was in love, intended to have carried her into *Spain*; but being by a ſtorm driven out to ſea, after much toſſing and danger of his life, was forced into this iſland, in which the harbour, where he lay at anchor, is to this time called *Machico*. On his going aſhore with the lady and ſome of his ſervants, the ſhip's crew took the opportunity of ſailing, and got ſafe into ſome *Spaniſh* Port. In a very ſhort time after, the lady who was extremely ſea-ſick, and not a little fatigued by what ſhe was forced to undergo on ſhore, died; and her diſconſolate lover having firſt erected and conſecrated a little chapel to the holy *Jeſus*, buried her therein. After paying this duty to the lady, whoſe love for him coſt her the loſs of life, *Macham* addreſſed himſelf to the contriving his eſcape, which he effected, by hollowing a large tree, and making thereof a canoe, in which himſelf, and thoſe that were with him, paſſed over to the oppoſite ſhore of *Africa*, where being taken priſoners by the *Moors*, they were ſent by way of preſent to the king of *Caſtile*. This accident is by ſome, placed in the year 1344; but by others, and I think with reaſon, ſomewhat later. It is remarkable, that we are indebted for this account to foreigners, who can hardly be ſuppoſed any way prejudiced in our favour againſt themſelves [a].

WE might add here ſome accounts of the expeditions made to *Jeruſalem*, *Barbary*, and *Pruſſia*, by ſome famous

[a] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

mous *Engliſhmen*, as alſo the beginning of our commerce with the *Hanſe Towns*: but as to the former, it would ſwell our work too much with things already mentioned by others; and as to the latter, it may with equal propriety be reſerved for the cloſe of the next chapter, to which therefore we refer it.

CHAP. VI.

The naval Hiſtory of ENGLAND, *during the reigns of* Henry IV. Henry V. *and* Henry VI. *of the houſe of* Lancaſter; *containing the ſpace of about ſixty years.*

HENRY IV. called ſometimes *Henry of Bolingbroke*, from the place of his birth, and ſometimes *Henry of Lancaſter*, from his father's dukedom, was crowned on the 13th of *October* 1399, and his title generally acknowledged. When he came over againſt king *Richard*, it was from *France*, and moſt of our hiſtorians affirm, that he received conſiderable aſſiſtance from thence; which however, the *French* writers deny [a]. Certain it is, that after the death of his unfortunate predeceſſor, the duke of *Orleans*, then director of the public affairs in that kingdom, during the lunacy of *Charles* VI.

[a] Polydor. Vergil. hiſt. lib. 21. Hiſtoire de France. par le P. Daniel. tom. v. p. 395

treated king *Henry* as a murderer and uſurper, though he had been formerly his friend: yet in all probability this was rather out of policy, than from any motive of juſtice; for all the uſe the *French* made of it, was to attempt upon the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions on the continent [b]. King *Richard* being born, and for ſome time bred at *Bourdeaux*; his countrymen the *Gaſcons* diſcovered a ſtrong reſentment of this ill uſage, and ſeemed diſpoſed to revolt. To ſooth this humour of theirs, the *French* put on this appearance of indignation, in hopes that they would immediately have put themſelves under their protection [c]. But *Mezeray* juſtly obſerves, that the advantages they drew from the *Engliſh* commerce, hindered them from haſtily taking this ſtep, and diſpoſed them to receive the lord *Piercy* for their governor, who was ſent over with that title by king *Henry* [d]. Not long after, king *Richard*'s young queen was ſent back to *France*, with the whole of her fortune, and all her jewels; and thereupon the truce between the two nations was renewed for twenty-ſix years, which ſhews how little of reality there was in the concern, expreſſed by the *French* court for the death of king *Richard* [e].

IN 1403, the king, who was then a widower, married *Joan*, the daughter of *Charles* king of *Navarre*, and very lately widow to *John Mantford* duke of *Britany*, which proved the cauſe of great diſaſters to this kingdom; for the inhabitants of that dutchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at ſea, they ſuddenly landed in the weſt, and burnt *Plymouth*, at a time

[b] Abregé de l'hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 140.
[c] P. Daniel. tom. v. p. 396. [d] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 135. [e] P. Daniel. tom. v. Froiſſard. cap. 119.

time when the king's hands were full, through the conſpiracy of the earl of *Northumberland*, and other great great lords [f]. This, however, did not remain long unrevenged; for the inhabitants of *Plymouth* having fitted out a ſquadron under the command of *William de Wilford*, admiral of the narrow ſeas; he firſt took forty ſhips laden with iron, oil, ſoap and wine, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, taking the towns of *Penmarch* and St. *Matthew*, and waſting with fire and ſword a great part of the coaſt of *Britany* [g]. Admiral *de Caſtel*, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time, attempted the *Iſle of Wight*; but failing of ſucceſs there, he ſteered for *Devenſhire*, where landing, he briſkly attacked *Dartmouth*, but was defeated by the country-militia, with the loſs of 400 men killed, and 200 taken; among which were himſelf and two other perſons of diſtinction; yet his ſquadron, and the *Flemings*, ſtill infeſted the coaſt, took many ſhips, and, to ſhew their inveterate hatred to the *Engliſh* nation, hanged all the ſeamen who fell into their hands [h]. In the mean time the *French*, without any regard to the treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns, invaded the dutchy of *Guyenne*, and ſent an army of twelve thouſand men, with a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, to the aſſiſtance of *Owen Glendour*. Theſe forces they landed ſafely in *Milford-Haven*; but the lord *Berkley* and *Henry Pay*, who commanded the ſquadron of the *Cinque Ports*, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of the *French* veſſels; which ſo frighted thoſe on board the reſt, that ſoon after they fled home [i].

[f] Thom. Walſingham, Stowe, Holingſhed. [g] Thom. Walſingham, Stowe, Rapin. [h] Walſingham, Monſtrelet. [i] Walſingham, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

ABOUT the ſame time, the earl of *Kent* ſailed with a conſiderable fleet to the coaſt of *Flanders*, where he cruiſed for ſome time upon the enemy, the *Flemings* being then ſubject to a prince of the houſe of *France*. At laſt, entering the port of *Sluys*, they found four ſhips lying at anchor, took three *Genoeſe* merchant-men of a very large ſize, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant reſiſtance; after which, they ſearched all the ports on the *Norman* coaſt, and landing in ſeveral places, burnt at leaſt ſix and thirty towns, and then, with an immenſe booty, returned to *Rye* [k]. Some mariners belonging to the port of *Cley* in *Norfolk*, ſailing on the north-coaſt in a ſtout bark, took near *Flamborough-Head*, a *Scotch* ſhip, having on board prince *James* duke of *Rotheſay*, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards ſucceeded, by the name of *James* I. Him with his attendants, an earl and a biſhop, they ſent to king *Henry* at *Windſor*, who kept him as a priſoner indeed, but during his captivity, uſed him as a prince. The *Scots* writers treat this as a plain breach of faith; but the *French* hiſtorians inſtruct us better; they acknowledge they had lately renewed their treaties with *Scotland*, for the uſual purpoſe of annoying *England*, and in ſuch times of public diſturbance, this prince ought to have been furniſhed with letters of ſafe conduct, ſince he was going to *France*, an enemies country, which every day infeſted the *Engliſh* coaſts with their fleet [l]. In ſupport of *Owen Glendour*, the *Welch* malecontent, they ſent another ſquadron on the coaſt

[k] Chron. Godſtovian. Chroniques de Normand. Holingſhed.
[l] Hect. Boeth. hiſt. Scot. A. D. 1404. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 404, 420. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

coaſt of *Wales*, of which only thirty arrived, the reſt being taken by the *Engliſh*; and a ſhort time after, the famous *Henry Pay*, admiral of the *Cinque-Ports*, ſurprized the *Rochelle* fleet, conſiſting of 120 ſail of merchant-men, richly laden, and took them every ſhip. Theſe exploits ſhew that trade in thoſe days was not altogether ſo inconſiderable a thing as by moſt of our modern writers we are taught to believe [m].

THE king, in 1407, narrowly eſcaped the fate of the *Scots* prince; he had ſpent part of the ſummer at *Leeds*-caſtle in *Kent*, and his affairs calling him into *Eſſex*, he ventured from the port of *Queenborough* with only five ſhips. In his paſſage, he was attacked by certain *French* privateers, who, after a very briſk engagement, took every veſſel but that in which the king was, and carried them off to their own coaſts [n]. This taught that monarch by experience, the neceſſity of keeping better fleets at ſea, and therefore he ordered a very ſtrong one to be fitted out the next year, under the command of the earl of *Kent*, who effectually ſcoured the narrow ſeas, and when he had cleared our own coaſts, ſtood over to *Britany*, where he boldly landed in the little iſland of *Briehac*, and there attacked a town of the ſame name, in which the privateers had taken ſhelter, took it by ſtorm, and put them all to the ſword; but in this action himſelf received a wound which proved mortal [o]. In 1410, an *Engliſh* fleet of ten ſail, under the command of Sir *Robert Umfreville*, went againſt the *Scots*, and ſailing up the *Forth*, ſpoiled the coaſts on both ſides, ravaging the country, burning all the ſhips

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[m] Thom. Walſingham. [n] Stowe's Chronicle, p. 334.
[o] Thom. Walſingham.

ſhips in their harbours, and amongſt the reſt, the largeſt they had, called *The Grand Galliot* in *Blackneſs*, carrying off fourteen ſhips, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of corn, as reduced the price of that commodity, which was then very high in *England*; whence the admiral obtained the ſurname of *Robert Mandmarket*[p].

WHENEVER the *French* affairs were in a tolerable condition, they were conſtantly forming ſchemes to the prejudice of the *Engliſh*, which were, generally ſpeaking, defeated by the breaking out of their own domeſtic troubles. King *Henry* wiſely held intelligence with both the factions in that kingdom, aiding ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other; thus he this year ſent a conſiderable body of auxiliaries to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Burgundy*, with whom they entered *Paris*. The ſervice they did made it ſo evident, that the king of *England's* aſſiſtance was the ſure method of turning the balance in favour of any party in *France*; that the oppoſite faction, headed by the dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, ſent their agents to *London*, where they entered into a treaty with king *Henry*, by which they acknowledged his right to the dutchy of *Guyenne*, and promiſed their homage for the lands, and caſtles they held therein; and the king, on the other hand, undertook to ſend them a conſiderable ſuccour, which he performed[q]. Theſe troops embarked in the month of *July*, 1412, under the command of *Thomas* duke of *Clarence*, the king's ſon. It appears by our hiſtories, that great expectations were raiſed by this expedition, inſomuch, that there was ſome talk of recovering *France*; but

theſe

[p] Stowe, p. 538. [q] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 500, 501. Mezeray, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

these notions quickly appeared to be very ill founded; for upon the landing of the duke of *Clarence* with his troops in *Normandy*, they were informed that the duke of *Orleans*, and the reſt of the princes to whoſe aſſiſtance they came, had made a treaty with the king and the duke of *Burgundy*, ſo that nothing was left for them but to go home again. The duke of *Clarence*, juſtly provoked by ſuch uſage, firſt ravaged lower *Normandy*, and *Anjou*, and then entering the dutchy of *Orleans*, lived there at diſcretion, till ſuch time as the duke came to an agreement with him to pay 320,000 crowns of gold, for the expences of their voyage; part of which he paid down, and ſent his brother into *England* as a hoſtage for the reſt [r]. This treaty was particular with the duke of *Orleans*; for as to the war with *France*, it ſtill went on, and Sir *John Pendergaſt*, who commanded the fleet in the narrow ſeas, took many *French* ſhips laden with proviſion, which, ſays my author, got him little reputation with the nobles, but much love from the people, who by this means enjoyed plenty of *French* commodities at a very cheap rate. This admiral had ſome years before, felt the ſevere effects of that envy which was borne him by the great, for having had the command of a ſquadron intended to ſcour the ſeas from pyrates and privateers, which he worthily performed, yet when he returned, a complaint was made, that himſelf had taken ſuch extraordinary rewards for his ſervices, as rendered him little better than a pyrate. Upon this, he took ſanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where for ſome time he lay in a tent in the church-porch, but at laſt he had juſtice

[r] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 505, 506. Mezeray.

ſtice done him; and now, when his country required the ſervice of a ſtout and able ſeaman, he was called again to command [s]. Things being in this uncertain ſtate, king *Henry* worn out by continual labours, and not a little grieved by his late diſappointmens, deceaſed on the twentieth of *March* 1412-13, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign [t]. He was a prince, as even his enemies allow, of great courage and wiſdom, and if he did not promote trade and naval power ſo much as ſome of his predeceſſors, it ought rather to be aſcribed to the diſorders of theſe times, than to any want either of will or capacity in the prince [u].

HENRY V. from his birth-place ſtiled *Henry* of *Monmouth*, ſucceeded his father, and in the beginning of his reign, ſhewed a laudable inclination to do every thing that could be expected from him for his people's good [w]. It happened that the wealth and ſtate, as well as the pride and ambition of the clergy, had raiſed a ſtrong ſpirit of reſentment againſt him throughout the nation; to divert which, it is generally believed, that the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* inſpired the king with an eager deſire of ſubduing *France*, to which it was no difficult matter to perſuade him, that he had a clear right. Indeed the condition that kingdom was in, might ſeem to invite ſuch an attempt. The king was oftner out than in his ſenſes; the whole nation was divided into two factions, the duke of *Bur-*

gundy

[s] Thom. de Otterborn. [t] Thom. de Elmham, p. 13. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 135. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [u] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 507. [w] Thom. de Elmham, vita & geſta Henrici quinti, anglorum regis, cap. xiv. Tit. liv. in vit. Henr. V. p. 6. Chronicon. Godſtovian, p. 136.

gundy at the head of one, and the duke of *Orleans* of the other; two dauphins died one ſoon after the other by poiſon, and the third was but a child. However, king *Henry* concealed his deſign for ſome time, and even treated of a marriage between himſelf and the princeſs *Catherine*, daughter to king *Charles* VI. In 1415, the *French* king ſent his ambaſſadors hither, with very advantagious propoſals, who had their final audience of the king on the ſixth of *July*, when, if father *Daniel* is to be believed, *Henry* would have been content to have concluded a truce for fifty years; but the archbiſhop of *Bourges* inſiſted abſolutely on a definitive peace, and ſo theſe negotiations were broke off [x]. Our writers mention a ſtrange ſtory of the dauphin's provoking the king, by ſending him a preſent of tennis-balls; which, however, is very improbable, conſidering the youth of that prince, and the apprehenſion all *France* had of the *Engliſh* power. The *French* writers ſeem to give a better account of this matter: they tell us, that the firſt flaſh of lightning before this dreadful ſtorm, was an angry letter written to the *French* king, with this addreſs: *To the moſt ſerene prince* Charles, *our couſin and adverſary of* France, Henry *by the grace of God king of* England, *and of* France, *&c.* This letter was dated the twenty-eight of *July* from *Southampton*, and the *French* king returned an anſwer in the ſame angry ſtile, dated the twenty-third of next month, ſo that thenceforward the war, though not actually begun, was looked upon as declared on both ſides [y].

KING

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[x] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 536. Tit. Liv. vit. Henr V. p. 6. [y] Mezeray, vol iii. p. 192. Thom. de Elmham, p. 29, 30. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

KING *Henry* acted with greater caution, and with more military prudence than moſt of his predeceſſors. The deſign he had formed was not that of ravaging the country, or ſeizing ſome of the provinces of *France*, but an entire and abſolute conqueſt of the whole realm; which he knew was not to be undertaken without a numerous army, a very great fleet, and competent ſupplies of money. He therefore drew together ſix thouſand men at arms, twenty-four thouſand archers, the reſt of his infantry completing the army, to at leaſt fifty thouſand men. That theſe might be tranſported with the greater conveniency, he hired from *Holland* and *Zeland* abundance of large ſhips, which, with thoſe belonging to his own ſubjects, rendezvouzed in the month of *Auguſt* at *Southampton*, where the whole fleet appeared to conſiſt of not leſs than ſixteen hundred ſail. As to ſupplies, his parliament being wrought into a high opinion of this expedition, furniſhed him liberally; ſo that with all the advantages he could deſire, the king imbarked his mighty army, which he landed ſafely in *Normandy*, without reſiſtance [z]. He was attended by his brothers the dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, his uncle the duke of *York*, and moſt of the nobility of *England* [a]. It is remarkable, that, though the conſtable of *France* had a very numerous army, with which he might well have diſputed the landing of the *Engliſh*, yet he choſe to retire, for which conduct of his, he was afterwards queſtioned in a council of war; but he juſtified himſelf, by producing his orders from court, directing him, not to hazard a battel on any terms whatſoever, but to leave the *Engliſh* if

[z] Chron. Godſtovian, p. 136. [a] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xviii. Tit. Liv. p. 7. Stowe, &c.

if they were ſo inclined, to waſte their force in long marches, and tedious ſieges. Would to God, ſays my author, this maxim had been as ſteadily purſued as it was wiſely laid down [b]! The policy of *France* therefore is, to cheat us whenever they make peace, and to deſtroy us when we break with them by means of a dilatory war; which, though troubleſome to them, becomes ſoon inſupportable to us: and thus their cunning gives them advantages which they never could derive from the force of their arms.

THE firſt enterprize of importance, undertaken by the king, was the ſiege of *Harfleur*, a ſea-port town of great conſequence at that juncture; well fortified, and in which the *French* had a numerous garriſon. It was inveſted both by land and ſea, and though it was defended with great reſolution, it was at laſt taken for want of relief. The *French*, however, ſucceeded in their policy thus far, that by this ſiege the *Engliſh* army was exceedingly waſted; inſomuch, that by the time the place was taken, one half of it was deſtroyed. On due conſideration of this, it was reſolved in a council of war, to leave a garriſon of *Engliſh* at *Harfleur*, and to march through *Picardy* to *Calais*, with the reſt of the army [c]. This paſſage appeared extreamly dangerous, ſince the *French* army was by this time, not only in the field, but alſo at their heels. The *Engliſh* forces, according to the *French* writers, conſiſted of two thouſand men at arms, and eleven thouſand archers. Our authors ſay, there were but nine thouſand in the whole, whereas the *French* were at leaſt three, if not five times their number.

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[b] Hiſtoire de France, Tom. v. p. 538. [c] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxii. & ſequen. Tit. Liv. p. 11,—15. Thom. Walſingham, Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

To ſpare the needleſs effuſion of blood, king *Henry* was contented to have made a peace on very reaſonable terms; but this was refuſed by the *French*, who flattered themſelves, that they ſhould be able to make him and all his army priſoners [d]. In conſequence of this obſtinacy of theirs, a deciſive battle was fought on the twenty-fifth of *October*, A. D. 1414. in the plains of *Agincourt*, wherein the *French* were entirely defeated by the *Engliſh*, through the bravery of their troops, ſays father *Daniel*, and the wiſe conduct of their officers [e]. There fell in the field ſeven princes of the blood, and five were made priſoners, the flower of the nobility of *France*, no leſs than eight thouſand gentlemen, and about ten thouſand common men; about fourteen thouſand being taken priſoners. The *Engliſh* loſt, as our writers ſay, about four, the *French* ſay, ſixteen hundred, and amongſt them the duke of *York* and the earl of *Oxford* [f]. A *French* manuſcript of that time mentions a circumſtance, no where elſe ſo particularly recorded, *viz.* that king *Henry* loſt his baggage, even to his crown and jewels, a great body of peaſants having forced the *Engliſh* camp during the heat of the engagement [g]. Father *Daniel* ſays very judiciouſly, that nothing but arrogance, imprudence, and temerity, were viſible in the conduct

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[d] Tit. Liv. p. 15. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 193, P. Daniel, &c. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [e] Hiſtoire de France, Tom. v. p. 541, 542. [f] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. Tit. Liv. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. The Batayll of Agynk Corte. An ancient MS. in Rhime in the Cotton Library, Vitellius D xii. 11. Folio. 214. Mezeray, Stowe, &c. [g] This MS. is of thoſe Times, and is in the Library of the Abbe Baluze. It ſeems to be a kind of Factum for the Seigneur de Gaucort, againſt the Seigneur de Etouteville. The former of theſe gentlemen was taken in Harfleur, and to procure his Liberty, traced out the effects belonging to the king, ſo that moſt of them were recovered.

duct of the *French*, whereas the *Engliſh* behaved with the utmoſt coolneſs and addreſs, as well as the moſt determined valour [h]. After this victory, the king continued his march to *Calais*, and in a ſhort time paſſed into *England* with the chief of his priſoners. The next year the *French* had leiſure to recover themſelves a little, notwithſtanding a new misfortune that befel them, little inferior to that of the loſs of this battle; for the duke of *Burgundy* puſhed his reſentment ſo far, as to make a treaty with king *Henry*, and to acknowledge him for the lawful king of *France*, as appears by his letters and treaties, which are preſerved in Mr. *Rymer*'s moſt valuable collection [i].

THE firſt attempt of the *French* for the repair of their late diſhonour, was their beſieging *Harfleur* by land and ſea. In order to their undertaking this, they made a treaty with the *Genoeſe*, who in conſideration of large ſubſidies, furniſhed them with a very conſiderable fleet, in which were many veſſels of an extraordinary ſize: by the ſame means the *French* alſo drew conſiderable ſuccours from the king of *Caſtile*, and having thus raiſed for the preſent a great maritime force, they attempted *Southampton*, and the *Iſle of Wight*, but without ſucceſs; after which, their fleet returned again to the ſiege, or rather blockade, of *Harfleur*. The place was gallantly defended by the earl of *Dorſet*, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at laſt he was brought to ſuch ſtreights, that without relief, it was evident the town muſt have been loſt. King *Henry* cauſed therefore an army of twenty thouſand men to be drawn together, and having embarked them on board a fleet of four hundred ſail, ſent them under his brother *John*

[h] Hiſtoire de France, Tom. v. p. 546. [i] Fœdera, Vol. ix.

duke of *Bedford*, to attack the *French* navy. This ſervice he performed with courage and conduct; for having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the *French* with ſuch vigour, that after a long and bloody diſpute, he entirely defeated them, either taking or ſinking five hundred ſail, and amongſt them three of thoſe large ſhips which had been furniſhed by the *Genoeſe*, and which, by the *French*, and their *Italian* allies, it was believed, the *Engliſh* would not have had courage enough to engage. Not long after, the *French* army retired from before *Harfleur*, and the earl of *Dorſet* with his garriſon, which was now reinforced, made excurſions throughout all *Normandy* [k]. In 1417, the earl of *Huntingdon* being ſent to ſea with a ſtrong ſquadron, met with the united fleets of *France* and *Genoa*, which he fought and defeated, though they were much ſuperior to him, not only in number, but in the ſtrength and bigneſs of their ſhips, taking the baſtard of *Bourbon*, who was the *French* admiral, priſoner, with four large *Genoeſe* ſhips, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy. So great in thoſe days, and ſo well directed too, was the *Engliſh* power at ſea [l]!

THERE being now ſufficient ſecurity for the ſafe landing of troops in *France*, the king in the ſpring of the year, began to make mighty preparations for paſſing the ſea, with ſuch an army as might decide the fate of this diſpute, by giving him the poſſeſſion of that country, as well as the title of its prince. As he was a more prudent undertaker in theſe matters, than any of his predeceſſors, and bid infinitely fairer for both getting and keeping the *French* crown

[k] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxx. Tit. Liv. p. 25.—31. Thom. Walſingham, Mezeray, Daniels. [l] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxvii. Thom. Walſingham, Holingſhed.

crown than they did; it will be proper to give a ſuccinct detail of this grand expedition, the rather becauſe it has a near connection with our ſubject of the dominion of the ſea. His army conſiſted in part of troops in his own immediate pay, and in part, of forces raiſed by his barons. Of the firſt there were ſixteen thouſand four hundred men, of the latter nine thouſand one hundred twenty-ſeven; and of this army a fourth part was horſe. To tranſport them from *Dover*, a navy was prepared of fifteen hundred ſhips; of which, two were very remarkable. They ſeem to have been both admirals, and were equally adorned with purple ſails, embroidered with the arms of *England* and *France*. One was ſtiled the king's *Chamber*, the other his *Hall*; from whence it plainly appears, that he affected to keep his court upon the ſea, and to make no difference between his palace, and his ſhips, royal. They embarked on the 28th of *July*, and landed in *Normandy* the firſt of *Auguſt* [m]. As ſoon as the army was ſafely debarked, he diſmiſſed the fleet, keeping only a few ſmall veſſels for tranſporting his artillery, which ſhewed, that he did not intend to return haſtily, and before his buſineſs was half finiſhed, into *England*. Before the end of the year, he ſubdued *Normandy*, and a great part of the adjacent countries. As faſt as he reduced the great cities, he put garriſons into them: ſuch of the *French* as ſubmitted, he received into his protection; but where he became maſter of countries by force, he beſtowed the lands in them as he thought fit, for the encouragement of his *Engliſh* adventurers, and in the ſpace of two years more, he by a ſlow and regular war, reduced the better part of *France* to his obedience, and at length,

[m] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxviii. Tit. Liv. p. 31,—33.

forced the unfortunate monarch *Charles* VI. to beg a peace almoſt upon any terms[n]. A thing that none of his anceſtors had been able to accompliſh, and which this king chiefly performed by awing his enemies with fleets on their coaſts, at the ſame time that he invaded their countries by land; as appears in the larger hiſtories of his life, by us often quoted, and in the *Engliſh* collections from them publiſhed by *Godwin*, in his hiſtory of the life and reign of this victorious king.

By this treaty, dated the 21ſt of *May* 1420, king *Henry*'s title to the crown of *France*, was acknowledged by all that kingdom, and on account of his eſpouſing the princeſs *Catherine*, daughter to *Charles* VI. it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould be declared heir of *France*, after the deceaſe of king *Charles*, and on account of his infirmity, ſhould govern the kingdom during his life-time, with the title of regent[o]. As for the dauphin, he was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the crown; and afterwards on a civil proſecution, he was attainted and convicted for the murder of the duke of *Burgundy*, (upon the precedent ſet in attainting king *John*) rendred incapable of all ſucceſſions, particularly that of the kingdom of *France*; and was alſo adjudged to perpetual baniſhment[p]. The two kings, *Henry* and *Charles*, with their two queens, and a ſplendid court, continued for ſome time after theſe regulations made at *Paris*. From thence, king *Henry* went into *Normandy*, where he held an

[n] Mezeray, Daniel, &c. [o] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xc, xci, xcii. Tit. Liv. p. 85 et ſeq. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 209. Rymer's Fœder, Tom. ix. p. 394. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [p] See Remarks on this Treaty, and on King Henry's cauſing Coin to be ſtruck, on which he is ſtiled Rex Francorum. Hiſtoire de France, par Pere Daniel, Tom. v. p. 583, 585

an aſſembly of the ſtates, and then paſſing through *Picardy* into *Calais*, he came to *Dover*, with his new queen, on the ſecond of *February* 1421 [q]. The intent of this journey is very truly ſtated by the *French* hiſtorians, who ſay, that it was purely to obtain a freſh ſupply of treaſure and men, his wars having already exhauſted all that before this time had been tranſported thither [r].

As ſoon as the king's deſign was anſwered, and he had obtained, notwithſtanding the extreme poverty of the kingdom, a very large ſum of money, he immediately recruited his army, and having ordered a conſiderable fleet to be drawn together, paſſed over into *France*, leaving queen *Catherine* behind, big with child. The dauphin had ſtill a conſiderable party, many ſtrong towns, as well as ſome large provinces under his obedience, and during king *Henry*'s ſtay in *England*, had acquired both power and reputation, by defeating a great part of the *Engliſh* army, and killing the duke of *Clarence*, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction on the ſpot; which moved king *Henry* at his return, to uſe his utmoſt diligence in the proſecution of the war, that the kingdom might be entirely reduced, and the dauphin compelled to withdraw for his perſonal ſafety into *Italy* [s]. While he was thus employed, the queen, who was at *Windſor*, brought him a ſon, and as ſoon as ſhe was able to travel, followed him into *France*, where ſhe had an interview with her father at *Paris*, in which city both courts continued for ſome time. But the king, ever active, in the month of *June*, took the field in order to

[q] Thom. de Elmham, cv ii, cap. cix. Tit. Liv. p. 91. Chron. Godſtovian. p. 143. [r] Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 211. [s] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxvii. et ſeq. Tit. Liv. p. 92. Thom. Walſingham, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

raiſe the ſiege of *Coſne* on the *Loire*, before which the dauphin lay. In this expedition, he haraſſed himſelf ſo much, that he found a great alteration in his health, which hitherto had been unprejudiced by his fatigues. Through his want of reſt, and ſtill aſſiduous application to buſineſs, an inflammatory fever followed, which proved fatal to him at *Vincennes*; the *French* writers ſay, on the 28th, our authors, on the laſt of *Auguſt*, 1422 [t]. He enjoyed his ſenſes to the very laſt, and died with as much glory as he lived, employing his laſt breath in giving ſuch directions as were neceſſary for the ſafety of both his kingdoms; and experience ſhewed, that if his rules had been purſued, his family might have been indebted for the preſervation of *France* to his wiſdom, as they were for the poſſeſſion thereof to his courage and power. He was indiſputably one of the beſt and greateſt, as well as braveſt princes that ever ſat on the *Engliſh* throne, and would in all probability have provided effectually for the peace and proſperity of his ſubjects, if he had lived to finiſh his wars. As it was, he performed a great deal in ſo ſhort a reign as nine years and a half, conſidering alſo that he was but in the thirty-fourth year of his age when he died.

IT muſt be ſuppoſed, that the dominion of the ſea was fully maintained under ſo enterprizing a prince, and one who was ſo remarkably jealous of his rights. I ſay, this might have been well ſuppoſed, though there had been no expreſs evidence of it, which however is far from being wanting. He took occaſion to have his title and authority in this reſpect, mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament [u]; he maintained ſtrong ſquadrons at ſea, and on the

[t] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxvi. Tit. Liv. p. 95. Mezeray, P Daniel, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [u] Selden's Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 23.

the coaſts, he humbled all the maritime powers of *Europe* in his time, on account of the ſuccours they gave the *French*, and thereby drew great advantages to his ſubjects, eſpecially from the trade of *Flanders*, which by a cloſe alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, he in a manner abſolutely ſecured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was exceſſively diſtreſſed, as well through the interruption of trade, as by the immenſe taxes levied upon them for the ſupport of his wars; inſomuch, that in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament, the feebleneſs and poverty of the people, as himſelf expreſſed it, and beſought him to apply the only remedy which could preſerve them from ruin, a ſpeedy peace, and putting a ſtop to his expences, which the king promiſed: and indeed he could not but be ſenſible of the truth of what the chancellor ſaid, ſince he had himſelf been obliged to pawn his imperial crown of gold to *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for what, in theſe days, would be thought a very inconſiderable ſum of money [w]. All this he did to obtain his *French* dominions, which in his ſon's time, the wiſeſt men in *England* thought more expedient to loſe than keep: time and experience having always juſtified this fundamental maxim of *Engliſh* policy, that the ſubjects wealth can have no other ſource than trade, and the majeſty of the crown no better ſupport than a firm truſt in the people's love, and in conſequence of their extenſive commerce, a ſuperior power at ſea. This is the voice of nature, in making our country an iſland; the dictate of reaſon, which ſhews, that all force is leſſened by an unneceſſary exten-

[w] Sir Robert Cotton's Anſwers to Reaſons for Foreign Wars, p. 59.

ſion; and the leſſon taught us not only by our hiſtory in general, but by the occurrences under every reign: the reader, therefore, muſt not be ſurprized to find me frequently inculcating what ought always to be remembred, and what at every turn, notwithſtanding, we are alas! but too, too, apt to forget.

HENRY VI. from the place of his birth, ſtiled *Henry* of *Windſor*, ſucceeded his father before he was a year old, under the tuition of his uncles, all men of great experience and abilities [x]. Of theſe, *Humphry* duke of *Glouceſter* was protector of *England*, *Thomas* duke of *Exeter* had the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and *John* duke of *Bedford* was regent of *France*. It was not long before *Henry* became king of *France*, as well as of *England*; for the *French* king, *Charles* VI. dying, on the 21ſt of *October* 1422, he was proclaimed at *Paris*, though the *French* immediately owned the dauphin, who was now called *Charles* VII. [y] In the beginning of his reign, things went better than could well have been expected, under an infant prince; for *Humphry* duke of *Glouceſter*, took care to ſupply his brother in *France*, both with money and men; and the duke of *Bedford* on his ſide, taking all imaginable care to preſerve the friendſhips of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, maintained himſelf by their aſſiſtance, in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions which were left to his ſon by king *Henry* V. and if the ſame union had continued, muſt have conſtantly preſerved them; for the *French* king, *Charles*, was never ſtrong enough to have dealt with ſuch confe-

[x] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxix. Tit. Liv. p. 95. Chron. Godſtovian. p. 145. Thom. Walſingham. Monſtrelet. [y] Mezeray, Daniel, Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

confederates: but it was not long before this harmony was diſſolved, the duke of *Glouceſter*, who was protector of *England*, took *Jaqueline*, ducheſs of *Hainault*, from her huſband the duke of *Brabant*, married her, and in her right pretended to large dominions in the low countries, which he fought to recover by the help of an *Engliſh* fleet and army. Theſe meaſures diſguſted the duke of *Burgundy*, who was extremely concerned for what had happened to his couſin the duke of *Brabant*, and reſenting his ill uſage and diſhonour, became thenceforward diſaffected to the *Engliſh*, and ſhortly after deſerted them [a]. On the 6th of *November*, 1429, king *Henry* was crowned in *England*, and in the latter end of 1430, he was crowned king of *France* at *Paris*, where he remained for two years; yet during that ſpace, his affairs rather declined than mended, and after his departure, and the death of his uncle the duke of *Bedford*, which happened in 1435, they fell into a rapid decay, ſo that they grew daily worſe and worſe [b].

In the ſucceeding year, the duke of *York* was named regent of *France*; but being hated by many of the great men in *England*, he was ſo diſappointed in the ſupplies which he ſhould have carried over into that kingdom, that before his arrival, *Paris* fell into the hands of the *French*. The duke of *Burgundy* alſo, in the month of *July*, laid ſiege to the city of *Calais*, with a very great force, which obliged the lord protector to think of relieving it from *England*; accordingly he raiſed a great army, which he embarked on board a fleet of five hundred ſail, and landing near *Calais*, marched directly to fight the enemy. The *Flemings*

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[a] Mezeray, P. Daniel. [b] Thom. Walſingham, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

Flemings, however, raiſed the ſiege precipitately, and retired into their own territories, whither the regent purſued them with his army, and after living in the country at diſcretion for ſome time, he again returned into *England*[b]. Towards the latter end of the year 1437, the earl of *Warwick* was ſent regent into *France*, in the room of the duke of *York*, and, which is very remarkable, was ſhipped and unſhipped ſeven times before he made his voyage; he dying ſhortly after, the duke of *York* was ſent again in his place, where, notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, the *Engliſh* affairs continually declined, ſo that in 1445, a peace was concluded, and king *Henry* was content on very mean conditions to marry a *French* princeſs, whoſe name was *Margaret*, the daughter of the duke of *Anjou*, much to the diſpleaſure of the nation, and which was attended with the worſt conſequences imaginable. A lingering war, and an inſidious peace had deprived the *Engliſh* of all their conqueſts in *France*, except *Calais*, and a very few other places; and though the nation was ſenſible of the mighty expence which attended the keeping them, yet they ſaw with grief the loſs of cities and provinces purchaſed, and ſo dearly! with the blood, and the treaſure alſo of their anceſtors[c].

THE *French* were not contented with this, but having ſtill in view the reduction of the *Engliſh* power, they meditated even in a time of peace a deſcent upon this kingdom, which they executed in 1547. As this is a matter chiefly reſpecting the naval hiſtory of *England*, I think myſelf not only at liberty, but even obliged to ſet it

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[b] Mezeray, P. Daniel. [c] Chron. Godſtovian, Stowe, Holingſhed

it in the cleareſt light. The reigning *French* king, *Charles* VII. was, without queſtion, one of the ableſt princes of his age. He ſaw with terror the *Engliſh* power at ſea, and with ſhame, his own incapacity to diſpute therewith. In order to remedy this, he made a treaty offenſive and defenſive with *Chriſtiern* the firſt, king of *Denmark*, by virtue of which, that prince was obliged to furniſh him on certain conditions, with at leaſt forty good ſhips, and between ſix and ſeven thouſand men, to be employed againſt *England*. Yet, by another article in this treaty, this, for which alone it was made, was entirely defeated. The *French* king had engaged, that the then king of *Scots* ſhould give ſatisfaction to the *Danes*, with whom he had long had a difference, and not being able to bring this to bear, the *Danes* refuſed to furniſh any auxiliaries. In the mean time, the queen of *England* like a true *French* woman, had entered into a ſecret negotiation with the king of *Scots*, and finding that he was like to be too hard preſſed by the *Engliſh*, ſhe thought a *French* invaſion might at once ſerve her purpoſes, and ſave the *Scots*. With this view ſhe applied herſelf to her relations in *France*, who eaſily prevailed upon the court to enter into this meaſure. A fleet accordingly was fitted out in *Normandy*, and in the month of *Auguſt* 1457, they made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Kent*, and landed eighteen hundred men about two leagues from *Sandwich*, whither they had orders to march by land, while the admiral attacked it by ſea. We have a very circumſtantial relation of this whole affair in father *Daniel*'s hiſtory, and indeed I think a more diſtinct account than any I have met of the like nature in our hiſtorians. He owns, however, that the *Engliſh* notwithſtanding their being ſurprized, defended themſelves with incom-

incomparable valour, and that though the town was burnt and pillaged at laſt, yet it coſt a great deal of blood, which might perhaps balance the booty acquired by it. The reflection he makes upon it, is a little partial. Thus, ſays he, a prince whom the *Engliſh* thirty years before called in contempt king of *Bourges*, was now powerful enough to inſult them in their own iſland, and to menace their country with the ſame miſchiefs which they had heretofore brought upon *France* [d]. As if there had been no difference between ſurprizing the town of *Sandwich*, that was quitted the next day, and the poſſeſſion of *Paris* for many years. However, his zeal for his country may well excuſe a greater error than this.

The *French* made alſo ſome other attempts upon the coaſt [e], and the *Scots* entered and plundered the borders; but theſe accidents far from producing the effects which the queen and her partizans expected, ſerved only to heighten that general diſaffection which now began to diſcover itſelf, and from whence it was but too viſible, that the councils of this *French* queen would undo the well-meaning prince her huſband. The favourers of the houſe of *York* had, with infinite pains cultivated an intereſt with the ſea-faring people, and amongſt the inhabitants of *Ireland*. The former they perſuaded, that all care of the coaſts was neglected, and into the latter they infuſed the ſtrongeſt reſentment of their preſent oppreſſions and apprehenſions of final deſtruction. The famous earl of *Warwick*, the then great ſupport of the houſe of *York*, had procured himſelf to be made admiral, and to ſhew his diligence in that

[d] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 292, &c.
[e] Mezeray, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin.

that office, and his care of the *Engliſh* honour, cauſed ſeveral ſquadrons to put to ſea, to the officers of which he gave ſuch inſtructions as he thought proper. One of theſe ſquadrons on *Trinity-Sunday* 1458, fell in with the *Spaniſh* fleet, who treating them as enemies, they returned their hoſtilities, and after a long and ſharp diſpute, took ſix of their ſhips laden with iron and other merchandize, and either ſunk or drove on ſhore twenty-ſix more [f]. This exploit many of our hiſtorians confound with that which follows, and which was ſubſequent thereto in point of time; though we cannot exactly fix its date, yet by a certain circumſtance it unqueſtionably appears, they were diſtinct enterprizes, the former being performed only by the earl of *Warwick*'s ſhips, whereas the latter was by him atchieved in perſon [g].

THIS great nobleman had by authority of parliament been appointed captain of *Calais*; but the queen having with much artifice and flattery drawn him to court, thought to have prevented his going back to his charge, by procuring him to be ſuddenly murdered. An attempt of this ſort was actually made in the palace, from which the earl narrowly eſcaped, and flying immediately to a little veſſel he had in the river, he therein tranſported himſelf to *Calais*, where he had a very ſtrong ſquadron of ſtout ſhips. With fourteen ſail of theſe he ſhortly after put to ſea, in order to ſcour the coaſts, and to hinder the queen from receiving any ſuccours from *France*; as alſo to aid, if occaſion ſhould ſo require, the duke of *York* and his party. It ſo fell out, that ſailing through the channel, he met with

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[g] Stowe's Annals, p. 404. [f] Compare the accounts given by Mr. Burchet and Echard with that of Rapin, and with the relation of the ſucceding ſtory in Holingſhed.

with five very large ſhips richly laden. Three of theſe were *Genoeſe*, and two *Spaniſh*: he attacked them though they were exceedingly well provided both with men and ammunition, as appeared by their defending themſelves two days; at length however they were beaten, two eſcaping by flight, and the other three falling into his hands were carried into *Calais*, where their cargoes, valued at upwards of ten thouſand pounds, were diſpoſed of, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. In this engagement the earl loſt about fifty men, and the enemy near a thouſand [a].

THENCEFORWARD there were ſcarce any meaſures, kept, the duke of *York* retiring into *Ireland*, and many of the principal nobility to *Calais*, where the earl of *Warwick* ſtill kept a great fleet, and had beſides ſuch an intereſt in all the ſea-faring people of *England*, that the king found it impoſſible to make uſe even of the little naval power that remained, againſt this formidable lord. The queen, however, ſent down the lord *Rivers* to *Sandwich*, with directions to equip as ſtrong a ſquadron as he poſſibly could, in order to deprive the earl of *Warwick* of his government of *Calais*. But when theſe ſhips were almoſt ready, the earl ſent Sir *John Dineham*, an officer of his, who ſurprized this ſquadron in port, and not only carried away all their ſhips, but alſo their commander *Richard* lord *Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville* his ſon, who remained long priſoners at *Calais*. After this, one Sir *Baldwin Fulford* undertook to burn the earl's fleet in the haven of *Calais*, which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprize.

[a] Stowe's annals. p. 404. See alſo Fabian's chronicle, wherein it is ſaid, that the earl loſt two hundred men.

prize. At laſt, the duke of *Exeter* being made admiral, and having information that the earl of *Warwick* was ſailed with his fleet into *Ireland*, ſtood to ſea with the royal navy, to intercept him, but when the earl of *Warwick*'s fleet appeared, the ſailors on board the king's ſhewed ſo much coldneſs, that it was not judged ſafe to fight; and the earl of *Warwick* on the other hand, being tender of the lives of his countrymen, and unwilling to deſtroy any of the king's fleet, paſſed by without moleſting them. But he did not afterwards ſhew the ſame moderation, when on an invitation from the *Kentiſh* men, he reſolved to land in their country; for Sir *Simon Mountford* being then warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and lying with a very ſtrong ſquadron at *Sandwich*, to oppoſe his landing, he attacked, defeated and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them, and amongſt the reſt Sir *Simon* himſelf periſhed [i]. After this, little remarkable happened in naval affairs, during the reſt of this unfortunate reign, which ended ſtrangely; for after the duke of *York* had been defeated and killed in battel, his ſon *Edward* earl of *March*, by the aſſiſtance of the earl of *Warwick*, made himſelf maſter of the city of *London*, where by the general conſent of the nation, he was acknowledged for their lawful prince, and king *Henry* depoſed, after holding, though very unſteadily, the *Engliſh* crown near thirty-nine years [k].

LET us now proceed to ſome commercial obſervations within this period of time. Upon the great revolution in the government made by depoſing king *Richard*, and ſetting up his couſin *Henry* of *Bolingbroke*, the parliament deſired

[i] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. [k] Polydor. Verg. lib. xxiii.

deſired that the new king would reſume whatever had been profuſely thrown away, either in the dotage of *Edward* III. or by king *Richard* II. in the wantonneſs of his youth, and this with a view, that the king might be the better able to live upon his own, without having recourſe continually to impoſitions upon his ſubjects. This good, as well as reaſonable advice, however had not ſuch an effect as was expected; for *Henry* IV. received frequent ſupplies from parliament, and in the eighth year of his reign; ſuch a tax was impoſed, as to prevent the knowledge of it from coming to poſterity; the houſe of commons deſired, that after the accounts of ſuch as had received it were once examined, they ſhould be deſtroyed, that what they had been moved to by their zeal for once, might not paſs into a precedent for ſucceeding times. The great exportation of wool, upon which from time to time he had conſiderable ſubſidies given him, muſt have made a very large addition to his revenue, and in this reſpect, for reaſons with which we are unacquainted; he very much favoured the *Italians*, allowing them to export wool, paying no higher a tax than his own ſubjects.

THE coin in his time received no alteration whatever; but in the ſecond year of his reign, he was obliged to prohibit a kind of baſe coin, which had gained a currency through his dominions, to the great prejudice of his ſubjects. Theſe were brought from abroad, chiefly on board the *Genoeſe* gallies, and were from thence called *Galley-Halfpence*. About two years afterwards he directed new money to be coined, but preciſely after the old ſtandard, in reſpect as well to fineneſs as weight.

AFTER all the care and pains uſed to ſettle the revenue in the former reign, by which no doubt it was much improved, king *Henry* V. found his income but very limit-

ted,

ted, even with the aſſiſtance of his cuſtoms, the revenue of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and the caſual profits ariſing to the crown; for in the third year of his reign, it did not amount to quite fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds *per ann.* and therefore to augment this, upon the petition of the commons, he took ten thouſand pounds a year out of the penſions that were then ſubſiſting. All the vaſt ſupplies that he received for carrying on the war with *France*, were ſwallowed up in that war, and the abſence of the king with the principal nobility, the frequent embargoes upon ſhipping, and the gradual declenſion of trade, brought the nation lower, and made the people poorer than they had been at any time within the remembrance of perſons living in that age. He made very few laws relating to trade, which I do not mention at all to his diſcredit, but only to ſhew, that commerce was then much ſunk; for when it was briſk and lively, petitions to parliament were frequent, and theſe were commonly attended with ſtatutes, and when any of theſe, as it very often happened from very different cauſes, were found inconvenient, they were by new laws repealed.

THIS monarch found it neceſſary in the ninth year of his reign, to raiſe the value of ſilver from two ſhillings and a penny, to two ſhillings and ſix-pence *per* ounce; but it does not appear that he debaſed the coin, on the contrary, he prohibited the currency of *Suſkins* and *Doitkins*, which had been brought in by foreigners. This king, after his victory at *Agincourt*, and peace with *France*, ordered a ſilver coin to be ſtruck with this ſtile or inſcription, *Rex Angliæ, regens & hæres Franciæ*, i. e. King of *England*, regent and heir of *France*. A gold coin called a *Salus* or *Saluts*, of the alloy of ſterling, va-

lue twenty-two ſhillings, with the angel ſaluting the virgin *Mary* on one ſide, the one holding the arms of *England*, and the other the arms of *France*, with the king's titles, and *Chriſtus vincit*, *Chriſtus ſignat*, *Chriſtus imperat*, on the reverſe. But in the next reign this ſilver coin which was called a *Blanch*, or white money, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Salus* or yellow money coined at the ſame time in *France*, being found not to be as it ought to have been, of the alloy of ſterling, was alſo prohibited by order of the Parliament in 1423.

THE reign of *Henry* VI. was a continued ſeries of profuſion and miſmanagement, ſo that when he had ſat upon the throne twenty-eight years, his ordinary revenue was ſunk to five thouſand pounds *per ann.* and he owed at that time three hundred ſeventy-two thouſand pounds. This occaſioned a reſumption at the requeſt of the commons, and the ſame remedy for the ſame cauſes was repeated over and over again; but without any great effect. He mortgaged the cuſtoms of *London* and *Southampton*, to the cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and engaged by an indenture to turn the trade chiefly to thoſe ports. In the thirty-firſt year of his reign, he ſeized all the tin at *Southampton*, and ſold it for his own uſe; he granted licences to foreign merchants to tranſport wool, notwithſtanding the ſtatutes. He raiſed the price of ſilver to three ſhillings and three half-pence an ounce; but it does not appear that he debaſed the coin, unleſs the making of braſs money in *Ireland* can be ſo called, which he certainly did.

IT appears from our records, that while the houſe of *Lancaſter* poſſeſſed the throne, extaordinary favour was ſhewn to the *Hanſe Towns*, the inhabitants of which had great priviledges granted to them here, and were thereby

thereby enabled to manage a good part of our trade [l]: the reſt was in a manner engroſſed by *Florentines*, and other *Italians* [m], which was partly owing to the neceſſities of *Henry* V. during his *French* wars, and partly alſo to the weak adminiſtration under his ſon, eſpecially in the latter part of his reign, when through the influence of the queen, the intereſt of foreigners was conſtantly promoted. This occaſioned frequent tumults in the city of *London*, and was one great cauſe of that ſtrange revolution, in favour of the houſe of *York*, who, as we before obſerved, made their court to the people, by ſhewing a ſtrong averſion to ſtrangers, and by cheriſhing the ſeamen, of whom little care had been taken in this laſt reign. How things inſtantly changed after king *Henry*'s depoſition, and how the *Engliſh* reſumed again the ſovereignty of the ſea, will be ſhewn in the next chapter, from foreign writers as well as our own.

[l] Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 341. [m] Stowe's Annals, p. 401.

CHAP. VII.

The naval Hiſtory of ENGLAND, *during the reigns of* Edward IV. Edward V. *and* Richard III. *of the houſe of* York. *Containing the ſpace of twenty-five years.*

EDWARD IV. ſon to *Richard* duke of *York*, and by his grand-mother heir to *Lionel* duke of *Clarence*, third ſon of king *Edward* III. and conſequently prior in title to the line of *Lancaſter*, whoſe anceſtor was *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth ſon to the ſame king *Edward*, aſſumed the crown on the fourth of *March* 1460-61, being then about twenty years of age [a]. He was forced to fight for his crown before he had well put it on, and though in the battel of *Towton*, which was fought on *Palm-Sunday* after his acceſſion, he totally defeated king *Henry*, who was forced to fly into *Scotland*, yet his queen paſſing over into *France*, procured there aſſiſtance under the command of the famous *Peter de Breſe*, who in the former reign had taken *Sandwich*; but through the affection which all the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt bore to the houſe of *York*, ſhe was diſappointed in her purpoſe, and forced, after entering *Tinmouth-Bay*, to put again to ſea, and retire into *Scotland* [b]. About this time the earl of

[a] This is owned by all our hiſtorians, though enough addicted to the Lancaſtrian party; but is very fully and fairly ſet out in Speed's chronicle, p. 670. [b] Stowe's Annal's, p. 416. Holingſhed, Speed.

of *Kent* who was abroad with a ſtout navy, ſcoured all the coaſt, and landing in *Bretagne* with ten thouſand men, took and burnt the town of *Conquet*, ravaged the iſland of *Rhe*, and carried off a great booty [c]. This early care of the ſea, ſhews the temper and genius of this prince, and how fit he was to hold the *Engliſh* ſceptre, yet he treated his predeceſſor *Henry* but indifferently, cauſing him to be brought to the *Tower*, and there kept very ſtrictly, though he was of a blameleſs life, and generally revered as a kind of ſaint by the people [d]. The defection of the earl of *Warwick*, whoſe power had greatly contributed to gain him the crown, was very near taking it from *Edward* again; yet whence that defection grew is not eaſily known. I muſt confeſs, this is not properly my buſineſs; but inaſmuch as the great power of this earl of *Warwick* ſprung from his being admiral and captain of *Calais*, it may not be amiſs to remark the errors that are crept into almoſt all our hiſtories concerning him; the rather, becauſe the matter is new, and not only affects our own, but alſo ſome of the moſt accurate among foreign hiſtorians.

THE ſtory we are told is, that the the earl of *Warwick* was ſent into *France*, to treat of a marriage between king *Edward*, and the lady *Bona* of *Savoy*, ſiſter to the queen of *France*, and, that while he was abſent on this embaſſy, the king married the lady *Grey*, daughter to the lord *Rivers*, by *Jaquelina* dutcheſs of *Bedford* [e]. But Mr. *Hearne* has publiſhed ſome memoirs of this reign,

[c] Stowe, ubi ſupra. Rapin queſtions this fact, becauſe not taken notice of by the French hiſtorians, which ſeems no juſt exception, while Bretagne was ſubject to its own duke. [d] Stowe, and all our abbey chronicles. [e] Polyd. Virgil, lib. xxiv.

written by a perſon, who not only lived therein, but was alſo well acquainted with the king, and the principal perſons in his court [f]. He vouches the thing to be quite otherwiſe, and that this ſtory was deviſed in after times to hide the truth. According to him, the earl of *Warwick* had not been in *France* before the king's marriage, which was on the firſt of *May*, 1463; but four years afterwards, *viz.* in 1467, he was ſent to treat with king *Lewis*, with whom he began to hold privately ſome intelligence, for the reſtoring king *Henry*, to whoſe party the *French* had always been inclined [g]. Indeed this ſeems to be the truth, and accords much better with dates and facts than the other ſtory, ſince it is not eaſy to conceive, how a man of the earl of *Warwick*'s violent temper, ſhould diſſemble his reſentment ſo many years together *. The true cauſe, therefore, of his quitting the king was, his immeaſurable ambition, and the apprehenſions he was under, that the new queen's kindred would ſupplant him and his friends; and this, notwithſtanding the great offices of which he was poſſeſſed, and which, as my author ſays, brought him twenty thouſand marks *per annum* [h]. The means he uſed to diſtreſs the king, was, drawing off his brother the duke of *Clarence*, whom he married to his daughter, and then retired with him to *Calais*. On this occaſion, the fleet ſtuck to the earl, againſt the king, having been long under his command. This circumſtance enabled him to return ſpeedily into *England*, where he, and his ſon-in-law, the duke of *Clarence*, ſoon raiſed a powerful army, and marching to *Warwick*, ſuprized the king's forces, beat them,

[f] Printed at the end of Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, 8vo. Oxford, 1719. [g] Anonymous Chronicle juſt mentioned, p. 297, 298, 299. * 1497. [h] Ibid. p. 300.

them, and took him priſoner [j]. *Edward*, however, eſcaped ſhortly after, and drove the earl and duke to ſuch diſtreſſes, that they were forced to join their party to that of the depoſed king *Henry*: and even this helped them very little; for after ſeveral diſputes, in which the king had the better, the duke retired into *France*, and the earl went on board his fleet, with which he ſailed to *Calais*, and being there refuſed entrance, put into ſeveral harbours in *Normandy*, where he met with all the favour and aſſiſtance he could deſire, from the *French* king [k]. While an army was providing, to be by the earl of *Warwick* tranſported into *England*, part of his fleet cruized upon the *Flemings*, and took many of their ſhips, becauſe the duke of *Burgundy*, their ſovereign, ſided with king *Edward*, whoſe ſiſter he had married. The duke, to revenge this ill uſage, drew together a great fleet, and therewith ſailing to the mouth of the *Seine*, blocked up the earl of *Warwick*'s ſhips in their harbour. Towards the beginning of the month of *September*, 1471; the *French* king furniſhed the earl of *Warwick*, the duke of *Clarence*, and queen *Margaret*, all now of one party, with great ſuccours, not only of men, but of ſhips, which enabled them to force their paſſage, ſo that landing on the 13th of *September*, ſome at *Plymouth*, others at *Dartmouth*, they quickly drew together ſo great a force, and withal, brought ſo many of the king's court to deſert him, that *Edward* fearing his perſon might be betrayed, fled, with ſuch of his friends as he could beſt truſt, to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*,

[j] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 414. Stowe, Speed. [k] Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 314. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

folk, and in getting thither, ran very great hazards [l]. There, on the 3d of *October* he embarked on board an *Engliſh* ſhip, and his friends on board two *Dutch* hulks, intending to have paſſed over into *Flanders*; but ſome ſhips belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*, attacked him: nor was it without great difficulty, that his ſmall ſquadron got clear, and at laſt landed him ſafe in *Zealand*. His queen, whom he left big with child, and in the utmoſt diſtreſs, took ſhelter in the ſanctuary of *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe brought forth her eldeſt ſon, afterwards the unfortunate *Edward* V. [m]

As ſoon as the king's flight was known, *Henry* VI. was releaſed from his impriſonment, and again ſeated on the throne, *Edward* proclaimed a uſurper, and many of his favourites put to death as traitors, his own brother the duke of *Clarence* concurring in theſe meaſures; for which, the crown was entailed upon him and his heirs, in caſe the male line of king *Henry* ſhould fail [n]. *Edward*, however, ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and though he found himſelf diſappointed in the only friend to whom he truſted, his brother-in-law, *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who durſt not provoke both *England* and *France* by openly aſſiſting him, yet he reſolved to venture with the ſmall train he had about him, and in a few ſhips which were lent him, to return into his own country [o]. This was certainly acting like an *Engliſh* king, who ought rather to die in the field aſſerting his right, than diſgrace himſelf and his ſubjects, by living long as an exile in foreign parts.

His

[l] Speed's chronicle, p. 681. [m] Graſton, Stowe, Speed. [n] Hall, Holingſhed, Rapin. [o] Hiſtoire de France, P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 428, 429. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

His whole force conſiſted but in four ſhips of war, and fourteen tranſports, on board of which were embarked about two thouſand men [p]. He intended to have landed in *Norfolk*, but a ſtorm prevented him, and obliged him after ſome days toſſing at ſea, to run with a ſmall ſquadron into the port of *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, from whence he marched directly towards *York*, declaring at this time, as the firſt monarch of the *Lancaſtrian* line had done in the like caſe, that he ſought no more than his inheritance as duke of *York*, and that he was content king *Henry* ſhould wear the crown; but as ſoon as he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, he laid aſide this pretence, reſumed his royal title, and in the famous battle of *Barnet* *, defeated and killed the potent and ambitious earl of *Warwick*, who from his ſucceſs, acquired the ſurname of *Make-king* [q]. Shortly after, he defeated queen *Margaret*, and her ſon the prince of *Wales*, at *Tewkſbury* †, where the latter loſt his life [r]. In the mean time the fleet was ſtill in very bad hands. The baſtard *Fauconbridge*, who commanded under the earl of *Warwick*, held it in the name of king *Henry*, but in reality to his own uſe. His firſt project was, the taking of the city of *London*, in the king's abſence; in order to which, he brought his ſhips into the mouth of the river *Thames*, and landed himſelf with ſeventeen thouſand men, with whom he boldly attacked the place, and was as gallantly received, the citizens defending themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that

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[p] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 430. Stowe, Speed. * April 14, 1471. [q] Stowe's Annals, p. 423. Holingſhed, Speed, Brady, Tyrrel. † May 4, 1471. [r] Stowe's Annals, p 424. Rapin.

that he was forced to retreat with great loſs [s]. Soon after, he gave up the fleet, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy, for entering into ſome new intrigues, he was detected, and loſt very deſervedly his head [t].

KING *Edward* had no ſooner ſettled affairs at home, and reſtored the peace, and naval power of *England*, than he thought of revenging himſelf on the *French*, for the trouble they had given him; for which a fair occaſion offered, by the breaking out of a war between *Lewis* XI. and *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* [u]. To the aſſiſtance of the latter, he paſſed over with a mighty army, attended by a fleet of five hundred ſail, with which, in the month of *July*, 1475, he entered the road of *Calais*, where he debarked his forces. This ſufficiently ſhews the great maritime ſtrength of *England* in theſe times, when the king, after ſuch an unſettled ſtate, and ſo many revolutions as had lately happened, was able, in a years ſpace to undertake ſuch an expedition as this, and that too with ſo great a force [w]. When he came to take the field, however, he did not find that aſſiſtance from his allies which he expected, and therefore, though at the beginning he pretended to no leſs than the entire conqueſt of *France*; yet on king *Lewis*'s deſiring to treat of peace, he was content to enter into a negotiation, which ended much to his ſatisfaction, and, all things conſidered, to the honour

[s] This man's name, was, Thomas Nevil, ſon to lord Faucon-bridge, created by this king Edward IV. earl of Kent, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [t] Stowe, p. 424. [u] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 457. 458. [w] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

honour of the *Engliſh* nation; for the *French* king gave very large ſums by way of preſent to the *Engliſh* ſoldiers, and diſcovered by various other acts, ſuch a terror at the *Engliſh* name, as might ſerve inſtead of many victories [x]. This peace is generally ſtiled the peace of *Amiens*, from the place where it was treated; and the curious reader may find it at large in *Rymer*'s collection [y], as well as ſome remarkable circumſtances relating thereto in *Philip de Commines*, and in the moſt authentic of the *French* writers [z].

In conſequence of this treaty, the king received an annual penſion from *France*, of fifty thouſand crowns, which he looked upon, not without reaſon, as a kind of tribute, and applied a great part of it to the repair of his navy, for which he always ſhewed a great concern; and by keeping ſquadrons continually at ſea, held the timorous *Lewis* XI. king of *France*, in continual terrors, who, to ſecure his own peace, diſtributed annually vaſt ſums amongſt the privy council of *England* [a]. A war with *Scotland* gave the king an opportunity of diſplaying his force by ſending a great army under the command of his brother the duke of *Glouceſter* †, into that country, and a powerful fleet upon its coaſt; which ſo terrified the *Scots*, that they obliged their prince to accept of any propoſals that were made to him [b]. After the coming back again of the duke of *Glouceſter*, the king's affairs began to take a leſs fortunate turn. He had created great troubles at home, by taking off his brother,

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[x] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, Tom. vi. p. 461, 462, 463. [y] Fœdera. Tom. xii. [z] Philip de Commines, lib. iv. Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 327. [a] Sir Thomas Moore, in his Hiſtory of Edward V. † A. D. 1482 [b] Drummond, Stowe, Speed.

brother, the duke of *Clarence*, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of injuſtice [c]. He had croſſed the humour of the nation, in refuſing ſuccour to the *Flemings*, who were the natural allies of the *Engliſh*, and from whom they annually gained large ſums by the balance of trade. Add to all this, that it became every day more and more apparent, that the *French* king never intended to perform the moſt eſſential points of the laſt peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the dauphin with the princeſs *Elizabeth*, which perplexed the king exceedingly, and at laſt, determined him to break with this perfidious monarch. In this war he determined to rely chiefly on his own ſtrength at ſea, and not at all on the promiſes of his allies, by whom himſelf and his predeceſſors had been ſo often deceived, and of which he had a recent example in the conduct of the emperor *Maximilian*, who, notwithſtanding the king had lately ſent a ſquadron of ſtout ſhips under ſir *John Middleton*, to his aſſiſtance, had not only made a peace, but entered into a cloſe union with *France*, which highly provoked the king [d]. The pains king *Edward* took in diſpoſing all things for a *French* war, and eſpecially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was ſo agreeable to his people, that they ſeemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which ſuch an expedition muſt have brought upon them. The care, however, of ſo important an enterprize, joined to his unuſual fatigue, in providing every thing for undertaking it, threw that monarch into a ſudden illneſs, when his fleet and army were almoſt ready, which brought him unexpectedly to his end, on the 9th of *April*, 1483, after he had

[c] Sir Thomas Moore, in the Life of Richard III. [d] Holingſhed.

had reigned ſomewhat more than twenty-two, and had lived very little above forty-one years [e]. The *French* writers will have it, that he died of chagrin, at the dauphin's marriage, becauſe from the treaty of *Amiens*, he had always ſtiled his eldeſt daughter *Elizabeth*, dauphineſs [f]; but *Mezeray* very honeſtly owns, that his death was a great deliverance to *France*, and freed her from the terror of beholding once again an *Engliſh* army, under a victorious king, at the gates of *Paris* [g].

He was, though too much addicted to his pleaſures, a very wiſe, as well as a very fortunate prince, had true notions of naval power, and of the conſequences of an extenſive commerce. The former he maintained throughout his whole reign, and the latter he encouraged as much as his domeſtic troubles gave him leave to do. His principal maxim was maintaining a good correſpondence with the city of *London*, to which he conſtantly adhered, and of which he found the good effects in his adverſity, as well as proſperity, as is well obſerved by *Philip de Commines* [h], who attributes thereto his reſtauration, after the potent earl of *Warwick* had driven him out of his dominions; and one of the laſt acts of his life was an extraordinary compliment to that city, of which we have a long account in our old chronicles [i]. In one thing he was ſingularly happy, that he died in full poſſeſſion of the hearts and affections of his ſubjects.

EDWARD V. ſucceeded, or rather ſeemed to ſucceed his father; for he never had any thing more than the ſhadow

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[e] Stowe, Speed, Rapin. [f] Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 346. P. Daniel. [g] Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, Tom. iii. p. 346. [h] Comment. lib. iii. [i] Sir Thomas Moore's Hiſt. of Edw. V.

ſhadow of royalty, and even this did not continue above the ſpace of ten weeks, through the ambition of his uncle *Richard* duke of *Glouceſter*. My ſubject does not lead me to ſay much of this matter, which, I muſt own, appears to me one of the darkeſt parts of our hiſtory; for though I am far from thinking that *Buck*, in his panegyric rather than hiſtory of king *Richard*, hath written all things according to truth, yet I muſt own that I do not believe he errs more on one hand, than ſir *Thomas Moore* in his hiſtory of *Edward* V. on the other; which hiſtory, however, has been the ground-work of all ſucceeding ſtories. Thus much of truth undouhtedly there is, that immediately after the death of *Edward* IV. *Richard* duke of *Glouceſter* aſſumed the office of protector, and cauſed the young prince to be proclaimed; after which, on various pretences, he cut off ſeveral great perſons, who were the principal friends of his deceaſed brother's queen; and having thus paved the way for his own promotion, he next infuſed into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late king's adminiſtration, and ſome doubts as to the legitimacy of his children, which by the help of the duke of *Buckingham*'s management of the lord-mayor and citizens of *London*, was improved into a popular demand that the young prince ſhould be laid aſide, and *Richard* inſtead of protector declared king, which at firſt he refuſed, but was quickly prevailed upon to change his mind and accept [k].

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[k] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Baker, Rapin. Sir Thomas Moore is tranſcribed in the three firſt Hiſtories; and as for Buck's laboured Apology, it is to be met with in the firſt Volume of the compleat Hiſtory of England, by Biſhop Kennet.

RICHARD III. was proclaimed the twenty-ſecond of *June* 1483, and crowned upon the ſixth of *July* following, together with *Anne* his queen, and his title effectually confirmed by a parliament called in *January* following [l]. This act is perhaps the beſt drawn piece, conſidering the deſign it was to cover, that is extant in any language, and many of our modern hiſtorians might have avoided the groſs miſtakes they have fallen into about this prince, if they had carefully conſidered it. But ſir *Thomas Moore*'s rhetoric had ſo much warmed them, that generally ſpeaking, they confound the duke of *Clarence*'s treaſon with the duke of *Glouceſter*'s pretenſions, which though they might be as bad, yet certainly they were not the ſame [m]. *Clarence* in framing his title to the crown, was obliged to ſet aſide that of his elder brother king *Edward*, which put him upon alledging, that the king was not in reality the ſon of *Richard* duke of *York* [n]. But as *Richard* duke of *Glouceſter* was under no neceſſity of doing this, ſo he was much too wiſe a man to attack his mother's honour without cauſe. We find, therefore, nothing of this in the before mentioned act of parliament, but a title of quite another kind. The right of king *Edward* is clearly acknowledged, but his marriage with queen *Elizabeth* is declared to be null, not, as ſir *Thomas Moore* ſays, becauſe of the king's marriage before God to lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, a matter which had been long before cleared up, but in reſpect to a pre-contract, or rather marriage, between the

[l] Stowe's Annals, p. 458. [m] Compare Buck's Hiſtory with the reſt, and conſider the authorities produced on both Sides. [n] See the Grounds of the duke of Clarence's Attainder in Stowe's Annals, p. 430.

the king and lady *Eleanor Butler*, daughter to the earl of *Shrewſbury*, which was proved by a biſhop [o]; in conſequence of which, all his poſterity were illegitimate. Then again, as to the poſterity of the duke of *Clarence*, which were ſtill in *Richard*'s way, they were ſet aſide, on account of their father's attainder, which could not have been alledged, if *Richard* had queſtioned king *Edward*'s rights. The caſe then in few words ſtood thus, the crown of *England* had been entailed by parliament on the poſterity of the duke of *York*, in the reign of king *Henry* VI. This duke left three ſons, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*. *Edward* by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but (as this act ſays) left no lawful iſſue. *George*, in the life-time of his brother *Edward*, had been attainted of treaſon, by which his family became incapable of ſucceeding, and therefore *Richard* duke of *Glouceſter* was called to the throne as the next heir in the parliamentary entail [p].

AN indifferent title he had at beſt, but this did not hinder his making a pretty good king, I mean in a political ſenſe, for he made wiſe laws, governed the people gently, and took all imaginable care to promote trade, and to preſerve the ſuperiority of the ſea. In all probability theſe were the effects of his private policy, for the ſtrengthening of himſelf and his family; but be that as it will, the nation was undoubtedly the better for it. Yet all his wiſdom did not preſerve him, becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by appearances, and to quit the prudent care, which at the beginning of his reign, he had taken for the guard of the

[o] Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 346.

[p] See this Act at large in Speed, p. 711.

the *Engliſh* coaſts, at that very juncture when it became moſt neceſſary: and as this is a point of great conſequence to the ſubject I am upon, it will be neceſſary to enter into a diſtinct detail of the earl of *Richmond*'s expedition, which, as it is taken from foreign hiſtorians, will, I hope, prove both agreeable and inſtructive to the reader.

WE have already ſhewn how the quarrel between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* began, by *Henry* IV's. aſſuming the crown on the depoſition of king *Richard* II. *Henry* earl of *Richmond*, was by his mother's ſide held a deſcendant of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and had been in the battle of *Tewkſbury*, with queen *Margaret* and prince *Edward*. After that ſignal defeat, he retired into *Bretagne*, where he was well received by *Francis* II. then duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of *Edward* IV. notwithſtanding all the intrigues of that crafty prince to get him into his hands [q]. *Richard* III. ſent his agents to the duke, promiſing vaſt ſums if he would deliver up earl *Henry*, but to no purpoſe, which aroſe from this ſecret reaſon. There were great factions at that time in *Bretagne*, the duke being entirely governed by his miniſter, a man of low birth, though of ſtrong parts, and high ſpirit, whoſe name was *Peter Landois*, which induced the nobility to confederate themſelves againſt him. This ſtateſman having good intelligence in *England*, knew perfectly the ſcheme that was ſet on foot for placing earl *Henry* on the throne, and uniting the two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, by marrying the ſaid earl to the princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter to *Edward* IV. He likewiſe knew, that the duke of *Buckingham*, and ſome other very great perſons,

[q] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Rapin.

were engaged in that deſign, which he reſolved therefore to promote, not doubting but that, when *Henry* ſhould be ſeated on the *Engliſh* throne, he would ſpeedily enable the duke his maſter to quell his rebellious barons. As ſoon therefore as he was informed that the duke of *Buckingham*'s deſigns were ripe for execution, he furniſhed the earl of *Richmond* with a fleet of fifteen ſail, on board which were embarked about five thouſand men [r]. But king *Richard* having early intelligence of the duke of *Buckingham*'s project, and of his negotiations with the earl of *Richmond*, took effectual care to diſappoint both. The duke's forces he defeated by ſurprize, made himſelf maſter of his perſon, and beheaded him [s]. As to the earl's landing, he prevented that likewiſe, by keeping a ſtrong ſquadron at ſea, and guards on all the coaſts, ſo that when the earl with his little fleet approached the *Welch* ſhore, he ſaw it was impracticable to land, and therefore bore away to *Dieppe*, where he ſafely arrived, and from thence went by land into *Bretagne* [t]. Thus we ſee of what conſequence ſuch precautions are in times of danger, and how very poſſible it is for an *Engliſh* prince, to hinder invaders from ſetting foot in his dominions. But if his meaſures on this occaſion demonſtrated the wiſdom of king *Richard*, his ſubſequent behaviour was of a quite different kind; for immediately upon the earl's retreat, he diſmiſſed his forces, laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if, after eſcaping ſo great a danger, he meant to invite a greater; at leaſt ſo it proved, and might have

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[r] Hiſtoire de France par P. Daniel, Tom. vi. p. 600. Argentre Hiſtoire de Bretagne, liv. xii. [s] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Buck, Rapin. [t] Argentré Hiſtoire de Bretagne, ubi ſupra. Hiſtoire de France par M. Chalons, Tom. ii. p. 220. Mezeray.

have been eaſily foreſeen. But let us now return to the earl of *Richmond*.

He found things, on his coming back, much altered in the court of *Bretagne*; for events will ever change the meaſures of thoſe who ſuffer their councils to be governed by expectations of profit, rather than regard to principle. *Peter Landois*, who had been his warmeſt friend, was now become his bittereſt enemy, for perceiving that the earl's deſigns were fruſtrated, the duke of *Buckingham* dead, the counteſs of *Richmond* confined, and *England* quietly ſubmitting to *Richard*, he ſuddenly changed his politics, and, ſince he could not reduce the confederate lords by the help of an *Engliſh* king of his own making, he reſolved to have recourſe to an *Engliſh* king then reigning; and therefore entered into a treaty with *Richard*, for putting the earl of *Richmond* into his hands [t]. But doctor *Richard Morton*, biſhop of *Ely*, a firm friend to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, then in exile in *Flanders*, having diſcovered this deſign, gave notice of it to the earl of *Richmond*, adviſing him to fly immediately into *France*, which he did, and yet very narrowly eſcaped, a troop of horſe ſent to re-take him, miſſing him but an hour. He was well received by the *French* king *Charles* VIII. who promiſed him his protection and aſſiſtance: nor had he been long at that court, before the earl of *Oxford*, who was a priſoner at *Calais*, prevailed upon the governor of that ſtrong place, to embrace his intereſt, and to go with him into *France*, in order to conſult about a new invaſion of *England* [u]. The *French* hiſtorians ſay poſitively, that king *Charles* furniſhed

[t] Argentré Hiſtoire de Bretagne, ubi ſupra. [u] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Chalons.

Henry of *Richmond* with four thouſand men: father *Daniel* ſays, they were choice troops [x]; but our *Engliſh* writers ſpeak of no more than two thouſand, nay, and inſiſt that theſe were hired with money, which the earl borrowed [y]. However it was, with this inſignificant force, embarked on board a very ſcurvy fleet, the earl ventured to put to ſea on the firſt of *Auguſt* 1485, from the port of *Havre de Grace*, and landed at *Milford-Haven* on the eighth of the ſame month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the *Welch*, and paſſing the *Severn* at *Shrewſbury*, met with many of his *Engliſh* friends, and then marched directly into *Leiceſterſhire*, where he knew king *Richard* lay with his army [z]. Upon this followed a deciſive battle, fought near the town of *Boſworth*, on the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, wherein king *Richard* fighting gallantly, was ſlain with his ſword in his hand, after a ſhort reign of two years and two months, wherein he ſhewed himſelf a better king than moſt of our hiſtorians are willing to repreſent him. An exemplary inſtance of this was, his ſuffering his nephew *Edward Plantagenet*, earl of *Warwick*, ſon and heir to his brother, *George* duke of *Clarence*, to live quietly and freely in *Yorkſhire*; though one of the firſt acts of his ſucceſſor was, to ſhut up this unhappy youth in the *Tower*, where he was afterwards beheaded, for no greater crime than deſiring freedom.

In the reign of theſe monarchs of the houſe of *York*, there were no grievous taxes drawn from the ſubject. When *Edward* the fourth wanted money, he had recourſe to an expedient, which, whatever it might be in law, was certainly not amiſs in politics, of ſending for perſons in eaſy

[x] Hiſtoire de France, Tom vi. p. 602. [y] Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed. [z] Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

ſy circumſtances, and having opened to them his occaſions for money, and his reaſons for ſuppoſing they could ſupply him, deſired they would give what they pleaſed, by which he raiſed money without aid of parliament, and by a new kind of prerogative; ſtiling, ſuch a voluntary contribution, BENEVOLENCE. As he was a debonair prince, this method, odd as it was, brought him in very conſiderable ſupplies. Amongſt others, that he once ſummoned, was a gentlewoman of *London*, eſteemed rich in thoſe times, to whom having ſtated his caſe in a free and familiar manner, he aſked her what ſhe would give him? *my liege*, anſwered ſhe, *for the ſake of that ſweet and comely face, you ſhall have twenty pounds.* The king being extreamly well pleaſed with this teſtimony of her good will, gave her a kiſs, which royal favour procured him another twenty pounds. He is likewiſe ſaid to have made uſe of the perſonal affections of his ſubjects, in borrowing conſiderable ſums, which, however, was attended with no ſmall diſlike, and was therefore laid aſide by one of his ſucceſſors.

WE are told by *Stowe*, in his chronicle, that this monarch ſought ſome private advantage in the alterations which he directed to be made in the coin; but it is very juſtly obſerved by biſhop *Nicholſon*, that this imputation upon his government is ill founded. It is, indeed, very certain, that this king directed, that all the bullion received for ſtaple commodities at *Calais*, ſhould be coined in the mint there; but then, as appears by the indentures, it was of the ſame weight and fineneſs with his predeceſſors. Another great antiquary, I mean ſir *Robert Cotton*, ſays much in praiſe of king *Edward*, for reſtoring the ſtate of our coin, which had been much injured in the preceding reign; and for ſaying this, he is cenſured by biſhop *Fleetwood*, who ſhews, that the money coined by *Edward* the

fourth, was not either better or worſe than that of *Henry* the ſixth. But notwithſtanding this is certainly very true, yet the former obſervation might be true likewiſe. We have ſeen, that in the reign of king *Henry*, there was great indulgence ſhewn to ſtrangers, and more eſpecially to *Italians*; and we have likewiſe ſeen, that it was by theſe people, that great ſums of baſe money were brought into, and circulated through the kingdom; and as there is, no doubt, that this was publickly prohibited, and effectually reſtrained by *Edward* the fourth, ſo we may very reaſonably conclude, that for this, and for the coining great ſums, as well in ſilver as in gold, of due weight and fineneſs, by which the occaſion and neceſſity of uſing theſe adulterated coins was taken away, he afforded juſt ground for ſir *Robert Cotton*'s remark. In his reign, the lord *Haſtings* was appointed maſter of the king's mints in *England*, *Ireland* and *France*, and he coined largely in the ſeveral mints of all the three kingdoms. Sir *John Davis* aſſures us, that it was *Edward* the fourth who firſt introduced a difference between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* coin, ſo that the former was worth a fourth part more than the latter. Upon whatever motives he did this, and whether the doing it was laudable, or otherwiſe, we dare not decide; but, however, there is no doubt at all, that the cuſtom was purſued by his ſucceſſors, ſo that in ſucceeding times, an *Iriſh* ſhilling was worth no more than nine pence in *England*, and the ſame proportion held in all their other coins.

In the ſhort reign of king *Richard* the third, there was but one parliament called, and but one tax granted, which was a tenth upon the clergy. At the ſame time, the king, of his own accord, gave life, as one of our antiquaries expreſſes it, to another law, by which the ſubject was for ever freed from *benevolencies*, which is ſaid to have flowed from

from an evil intention in that prince, to captivate the minds of the people, by this extraordinary ſhew of ſelf-denial. It is very poſſible it might be ſo, but perhaps it would be very difficult to find any evidence to prove it. It is a dangerous thing, to put bad conſtructions, upon ſuch actions as are viſibly good, either in kings, or in private men. If this monarch was really guilty of one half of the crimes with which ſome of our hiſtorians charge him, there was no need of miſrepreſenting what had the appearance of right in his conduct, in order to render him a monſter. All that I incline to add farther upon this ſubject, is, that ſuch as are determined to believe the worſt of him, muſt be contented with what is ſaid in our chronicles, public hiſtories and memoirs; for as to the ſtatute books and records, they bear no teſtimonies of his being either an oppreſſor or a tyrant; yet what vindicates his public, cannot be extended to juſtify his private character; becauſe both hiſtory and experience ſufficiently teaches, that a very bad man, may be a very good king; but then it is neceſſary, that he ſhould reign long, in order to be ſo eſteemed.

As to the hiſtory of our trade during this period, it is better preſerved than in any other, becauſe it now perhaps began to grow more conſiderable. A great variety of laws we have relating thereto, and a long charter preſerved in *Hakluyt*, whereby king *Edward* IV. grants large privileges to the *Engliſh* merchants ſettled in the *Netherlands*. Some of our hiſtorians, it is true, blame that prince for ſuffering certain ſheep, out of *Herefordſhire*, to be tranſported into *Spain*, whence they would have us believe, aroſe that plenty of fine wool, for which *Spain* hath been ſince renowned. But this is meer vanity in us, ſince nothing is more cer-

tain, than that the *Spaniſh* wool was ſong before in the higheſt requeſt; ſo that, in the 31ſt of *Henry* II. the weavers of *London* had it granted to them upon their petition, that wherever they could diſcover cloth entirely fabricated of *Spaniſh* wool, or even with a mixture of *Spaniſh* wool, they were authorized to carry it before the mayor of *London*, who was to cauſe it to be burnt [a]. The hiſtory I mention, is contained in a little treatiſe, preſerved in *Hakluyt* [b], entitled, *De politia conſervativa maris*, written in verſe; and, as it ſeems from his preface, never before printed, though written copies were pretty common. We know not by whom, or exactly when it was written, and yet we may come pretty near the time; for it is ſaid in the cloſe, to have been examined and approved by the wiſe baron of *Hungerford*, which nobleman loſt his head at *Saliſbury*, in 1466, being the 6th of *Edward* IV. [c] conſequently this book muſt have been written ſome time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. There is a particular title to every chapter, that to the general introduction runs thus: *Here beginneth the prologue of the proceſſe of the libel of* Engliſh *politie, exhorting all* England *to keep the ſea, and namely the narrowe ſea: ſhewing what profite commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſalvation to* England, *and to all* Engliſhmen.

In this introduction, the author ſhews both the utility and the neceſſity of *England's* preſerving the dominion of the ſea, and tells us, that the emperor *Sigiſmund*, who came over hither in 1416, and went into *France* with *Henry* V. adviſed him to keep the two towns of *Dover* and

[a] Ibid. ubi ſupra. [b] Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 187.
[c] Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

and *Calais*, as carefully as he would his two eyes. The author next explains to us, the device on our nobles, a gold coin firſt ſtruck in 18 *Edw.* III. introducing his remarks thus:

For foure things our NOBLE *ſheweth unto me,*
King, ſhip, and ſword, and power of the ſea.

IN his firſt chapter, this writer gives us a very clear and exact account of the commodities of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and of the commerce between thoſe countries, wherein he notes, that neither country could live without the other; that the *Spaniſh* wool cannot be wrought by the *Flemings*, without a mixture of *Engliſh*; and beſides this, the trade between theſe two countries, muſt be altogether precarious, if both be not at peace with *England*. The ſecond chapter treats of the commodities and trade of *Portugal*, wherein he obſerves, that the inhabitants of *Portugal* were always our friends, and that a very advantagious trade had ever been carried on between the two nations, the ſtream of which he complains, began now to be turned into *Flanders*: he ſpeaks of the trade, and of the pyracies carried on by the inhabitants of the dutchy of *Bretagne*, and exclaims grievouſly at the outrages they were wont to commit on the *Engliſh* coaſts, particularly on the maritime towns of *Norfolk*; and then tells us a remarkable ſtory of what happened in the time of *Edward* III. The merchants, he ſays, repreſented to that prince, that notwithſtanding the peace between him and the duke of *Bretagne*, the privateers of that dutchy took their veſſels, of which the king, by his ambaſſadors, complained to the duke, who, in anſwer, ſaid, that theſe privateers belonged to the ports of St. *Michael*, and St. *Maloes*, which,

which, though in his dominions, he could not ſay were under his obedience, being inhabited by a ſort of people who would do what they pleaſed; upon which, the king directed *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, and *Fowey* to be fortified, and gave the inhabitants leave to fit out privateers, to cruiſe upon the coaſts of *Bretagne*. This expedient ſoon anſwered his purpoſe, by bringing the ſubjects of the duke into ſuch diſtreſs, that he was glad to undertake for the future good behaviour of his *two* lawleſs towns, that he might be rid of the troubleſome viſitants which daily diſtreſſed his coaſts from our *three*. The commodities of *Scotland*, and her commerce with *Flanders*, make the ſubject of the fourth chapter. In the fifth, he treats of the trade of *Pruſſia*, *Germany*, and the *Hanſe-Towns*, and of the inland countries dependant upon them. The commodities and trade of *Genoa* employ the ſixth; whence it appears, that at this time they carried on the trade of *Africa*, and the *Indies*, that is to ſay, imported *Indian* and *African* commodities here, and in return exported wool and woollen commodities, and all this in certain very large ſhips, in thoſe days called *Carracks*. The trade of *Venice* and *Florence* follows next, to which the author ſeems no great friend, as ſuppoſing that the balance thereon was greatly in their favour, and that the things bought of them were mere inſtruments of luxury. Much pains is taken in this chapter to ſhew the advantages that foreigners had in trade over the *Engliſh* natives, and what frauds were committed by the *Italian* bankers, and by the factors of that nation employed here. The trade of *Flanders* takes up the eighth chapter, wherein great complaints are made of the inſolence of ſhips belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*, and of the folly of *Engliſh* merchants lending their

their names to cover foreigners goods imported hither. In the ninth, we ſee a copious and exact account of the commodities and commerce of *Ireland*, except that the author ſpeaks confidently of gold and ſilver being found there, which time hath not verified. Towards the concluſion, there is a project of the then earl of *Ormonde's*, ſuggeſting that, if one year's expence in the maintainance of *French* wars, were employed in the reduction of *Ireland*, it would anſwer the purpoſe effectually, and produce a very conſiderable profit annually to the *Engliſh* nation. Yet this, as the writer complains, was ſlighted, from views of private profit, to the great detriment of the public. The old trade carried on to *Iceland* from *Scarborough*, and of late years from *Briſtol* to the ſame place, is deſcribed in the tenth chapter, at the cloſe of which, the author diſcourſes of the importance of *Calais*. In the eleventh chapter he deſcants on the naval power of king *Edgar*, and the mighty fleets of king *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. who, he ſays, built larger and ſtronger ſhips than any of his predeceſſors. The twelfth and laſt chapter is a conciſe re-capitulation of the principal matters ſpoken to before, with a pathetic exhortation to *Engliſh* ſtatemen, thoroughly to conſider the importance of theſe points, and eſpecially the great one of maintaining our power, or ſovereignty at ſea, on which, he ſays, the peace, plenty and proſperity of this iſland eſſentially depend.

ONE cannot help wond'ring on the peruſual of this piece, that no pains has ever been taken to make it more uſeful, by republiſhing it, either in modern verſe, or as it now ſtands, with notes; ſince it is evidently written with equal ſcience and ſpirit, ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether it gives us a better idea of the author's head or heart.

Beſides,

Beſides, it is a full proof that trade was then a very extenſive and important concern; which will appear more clearly to the reader, if he conſiders the different value of money, than and now. It likewiſe ſhews, that the reaſons and grounds of our naval dominion were then as throughly underſtood, and as clearly and plainly aſſerted as ever they have been ſince; which is the reaſon that Mr. *Selden* cites this book as a remarkable authority, both in point of argument and antiquity [d]. But we are now coming into brighter times, wherein that ſpirit of commerce, which this author ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, began really to appear, and when there ſeemed to be a conteſt between private men, and thoſe in the adminiſtration, who ſhould ſerve the public moſt. A ſpirit to which we owe our preſent commerce to all parts of the world, our potent and ſtately fleet, and above all, our numerous plantations, the chief ſupport of our maritime ſtrength, as well as the moſt conſiderable branch of our trade ſtill remaining.

[d] Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. c. 25.

CHAP. VIII.

The naval History of ENGLAND, *under the reign of* Henry VII. *including the memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in his time.*

HENRY VII. was crowned king on the field of battel, the diadem of king *Richard* being found among the spoils. By what title he held the regal dignity, is difficult to determine; in his own days, he would not suffer it to be drawn into question, and posterity hath not much considered it since. As to descent, he could scarce be said to be of the royal family, for his father was of *Wales*, his mother of the house of *Beaufort*, descended indeed of *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*; but so as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an express exception as to the crown. By conquest he could not be king, for no people conquer themselves; and his army at *Bosworth* were *Englishmen*, as well as king *Richard*'s. His best title then must be marriage, which he had not till some time after; for though he was solemnly crowned on the 30th of *October*, yet he did not marry the princess *Elizabeth*, 'till the 18th of *January*, 1486. He was generally esteemed the wisest prince of his time, and was, without all doubt, an accomplished politician, to which the difficulties he went through in his youth, must have con-

contributed not a little; for he was an exile before he was a man, and at the head of his party by that time he was at years of diſcretion. He had great obſtacles to ſurmount, even after his acceſſion to the throne; for the common people were generally fond of the houſe of *York*, and the dutcheſs of *Burgundy* took care to furniſh them with variety of pretenders of that line. Yet ſuch was the care king *Henry* took of his coaſts, and ſo wiſely did he provide for the ſecurity of the ſea, that his enemies could ſcarce ever ſet foot directly in his kingdom; which was the reaſon that *Simnel* went firſt to *Ireland*, and *Perkin Warbeck* into *Scotland*, where having procured aſſiſtance, he thence invaded *England* [c].

ANOTHER ſtrain of his policy was, his keeping up a martial ſpirit among his own ſubjects, at the expence of his neighbours, repaying thereby the *French* in their own coin. Thus he privately aſſiſted the duke of *Bretagne*, with a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of the lord *Woodville*, uncle to the queen; and when the *French* king expoſtulated on this head, he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that lord tranſported forces into *Bretagne* without his conſent or permiſſion *. Soon after, he openly aſſiſted the *Bretons*, againſt the *French*, becauſe he ſaw that theſe expeditions were pleaſing to his own people, and ſerved his purpoſes at the ſame time. On the ſame principles he threatned an open rupture with *France*, for which he provided a ſtout army, and a numerous fleet: and yet his real view was not ſo much attacking the *French* king, as drawing aids from his own parliament, which on this

[c] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin: but above all, lord Bacon's hiſtory of his reign, and his finiſhed character of Henry VII. * A. D. 1488.

this expectation only they were inclined to give. He tranſported, however, his forces to *Calais*, took the field, and having terrified the *French*, made ſuch a peace as ſatisfied him, and ſo returned home, keeping, however, his ſquadrons at ſea; for though he loved peace, yet it was his fixed maxim, to be in conſtant readineſs for war; which was the reaſon, that during his reign, the marine was in better condition than under any of his predeceſſors: the cares of government took up his whole time, and left no room either for thoughts or expences of pleaſure [f].

THE *French* hiſtorians ſay, that of all our *Engliſh* kings, this wiſe monarch was beſt inclined to them, and moſt obſervant of his treaties, which they aſcribe to his gratitude for the ſuccours afforded him in *France*, when he came over againſt king *Richard* [g]. I will not deny that ſome truth may be in this; and yet I am inclined to believe, that the chief motive which ſo ſtrongly bound him to affect peace abroad, was the inteſtine diviſions among his ſubjects at home, which might have created him even more uneaſineſs than they did, in caſe the malcontents had been ſupported by ſo powerful a prince as the *French* king. Beſides, it was policy of *Henry* VII. to divert the ſpirits of his ſubjects from war to trade, which he both underſtood and encouraged. His long reſidence in *Bretagne* had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater ſkill in maritime affairs than moſt of his predeceſſors, and this was ſo well known, that eminent ſeamen, even in foreign countries, frequently addreſſed themſelves to him for his favour and protection. Amongſt the

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[f] Stowe, Speed, Bacon. [g] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 19. Du Tillet Recueil des Traites, Mezeray.

the reſt, the famous *Chriſtopher Columbus*, who rendered his name immortal by the diſcovery of *America*, and who ſent his brother *Bartholomew* hither, in order to have undertaken that glorious expedition for the benefit of this nation: nor was it any fault in this wiſe king that he did not; though ſome modern writers not only without, but againſt all authority aſſert, that king *Henry* rejected his propoſals. I ſhall here give a conciſe account of that affair, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again in the memoirs of *John Cabot*, who, though he did not undertake to make diſcoveries till after the return of *Columbus*, yet ſaw the continent of the new world earlier than he, as will be fully proved in its proper place.

EXPERIENCE ſhews us, that there are certain ſeaſons remarkably favourable to particular arts. This age of which we are ſpeaking, had been ſo to navigation, which had proſpered exceedingly under different ſtates, but principally under the *Portugueſe*. They had diſcovered a new way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by going entirely round the great continent to *Africa*, which rendered them ſo much richer, and more powerful than their neighbours, that, by an emulation natural amongſt great men, the thoughts of all the wits in *Europe* were turned towards undertakings of this kind [w]. *Chriſtopher Columbus*, by birth a *Genoeſe*, but of what family is very uncertain, and I think very immaterial, had a head excellently turned for ſuch enterprizes. By nature he was ſagacious, penetrating, and reſolute; he derived from education ſuch knowledge, as enabled him to make the beſt uſe of his experience, and his ardent paſſion

[w] See this matter largely diſcuſſed, in a book publiſhed ſome years ago, entituled, *A compleat hiſtory of* SPANISH AMERICA.

paſſion for the ſcience of navigation had inſpired him, from his early youth, with a deſire of engaging in diſtant and dangerous voyages. Abundance of lucky circumſtances concurred in giving him greater advantages than any of his contemporaries; but, as to the ſtory of his having the firſt hint of an undiſcovered continent in the weſt, from the papers of an old pilot who died in his houſe, while he reſided in the iſland of *Madera*, I entirely agree with ſir *William Monſon*, that it is mere calumny; and for this reaſon, that, if *Columbus* had really received any ſuch information, he would ſcarce have embraced ſome opinions which expoſed his projects to many plauſible objections, and which, nevertheleſs, he retained to the laſt. It is by no means clear, though we have a life of him written by his ſon, and collected partly from his own writings, when he firſt entertained thoughts of finding out countries hitherto undiſcovered. It ſeems, however, to have been pretty early in his life; becauſe it appears from notes of his own, that he had undertaken ſeveral voyages with a view of fixing his notions on this ſubject. When he had throughly methodized his ſcheme, and rendered it, as he thought, probable and practicable, he firſt propounded it to the ſtate of *Genoa* in the year 1482; but it was not accepted, becauſe they were then engaged in ſuch an extenſive commerce, as they ſcarce knew how to manage, and were therefore afraid of launching out into new projects. *Columbus* then offered it to the king of *Portugal*, who was much too wiſe a prince not to diſcern the benefit which might ariſe from ſuch a diſcovery, or the ſtrength of the reaſons urged by *Columbus*, to ſhew that the deſign was feaſible. He therefore appointed commiſſioners to treat with *Chriſtopher*, who dealt with him very

baſely; for having as they thought drawn out of him his whole ſecret, they adviſed the king, while they entertained *Columbus* with objections, to fit out a ſhip, which under colour of going to the *Cape de Verd* iſlands, might attempt the execution of what he had propoſed; but the iſſue of this contrivance was as unlucky, as that in itſelf was diſhonourable. For the fraud coming to the ears of *Columbus*, he was ſo diſguſted thereby, that he determined with himſelf to quit *Portugal*, and to ſeek protection in ſome more generous court *.

It was towards the cloſe of the year 1484, that he came to a reſolution of going himſelf into *Spain*, and it was the next year after meeting with ſome difficulties there, that he ſent his brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, where *Henry* VII. had but juſt aſcended the throne. A man could ſcarce be more unfortunate than *Bartholomew Columbus* was in this voyage; he was firſt taken by pyrates, who ſtripped him to the ſkin, and obliged him for ſome time to earn a ſorry living, by labouring at the oar. When he had made his eſcape from them, he found means to get into *England*, and to come to *London*; but in ſo poor a condition, and ſo worn by a lingering ague, that he wanted both opportunity and ſpirits to purſue the deſign he came about. However, as ſoon as he had recovered a little, he applied himſelf to the making maps and globes, and diſcovering thereby a more than ordinary ſkill in coſmography, he came to be known; ſo that at laſt he brought his deſign to bear, and was actually introduced to the king, to whom on the thirteenth day of *February* 1488,

* See the life of Chriſtopher Columbus by his ſon, in Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. ii. a p. 557, ad p. 688.

1488, he preſented a map of the world of his own projecting, and afterwards entering into a negotiation on the behalf of his brother, the king liked the ſcheme ſo well, that they came to an agreement before *Chriſtopher* had brought things to bear in *Spain*; though by a new ſeries of croſs accidents, *Bartholomew* was not able to carry any account of this to his brother, before he had actually diſcovered the *American* iſlands in the ſervice, and for the benefit of the crown of *Spain* [y], which he did in 1492.

As we have theſe facts from the ſon of don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and the nephew of *Bartholomew*, who publiſhed his father's life in *Spain*, I think the authority cannot be doubted, according to all the rules of evidence laid down either by lawyers or critics. Add to this, that the map made by *Bartholomew Columbus*, was actually in being in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; which is ſuch a corroborative proof, as puts the matter out of diſpute [z], and ſhews that we have at leaſt as good a title as the *Spaniards*, from our agreement with the firſt diſcoverer of a paſſage to this new world. If they plead the ſucceſs of their expedition, we may allege our prior contract, and if this ſhould fail us, and their title be approved, we have then, as I hinted before, a better title than they (even according to their own method of arguing) to the continent of *America*, in regard to which, our ſucceſs in diſcovering was prior to theirs. I know ſome writers have made pretty ſmart reflections upon king *Henry* for his dilatorineſs in this matter, by which they think we have ſuffered ſo much; but when matters are more maturely weighed,

[y] See Hakluyt, Purchas, Harris's collections. [z] I found this particular in a MS. belonging to Sir William Monſon, which has ſince been burnt by accident.

perhaps we ſhall meet with no juſt grounds for theſe cenſures. For firſt, it does not appear that the king delayed this affair at all, though it be true that *Bartholomew Columbus* ſpent a long time in negotiating it; and the reaſon was, becauſe the king had then many arduous affairs upon his hands, ſuch as the attempt of *Perkin Warbeck*, an expedition into *Scotland*, his breach with *France*, and voyage thither, all which fell out within that ſpace: And ſecondly, it does not ſeem ſo manifeſt as theſe people imagine, that we are really ſuch mighty ſufferers, by the *Spaniards* having the ſtart of us in this expedition, for which many reaſons might be offered; but there is one ſo obvious, and withal ſo ſtrong, that it ſeems to ſuperſede the reſt. *Spain*, at the time ſhe undertook this diſcovery, was one of the greateſt maritime powers in *Europe*, though ſince her poſſeſſion of the *Indies*, ſhe is become one of the moſt inconſiderable. But it may be ſaid, that if we had firſt ſettled theſe countries, we ſhould have acted otherwiſe; yet this is not only a bare ſuppoſition, but at the ſame time a very improbable one. The heat of the climate, the luxuriancy of the ſoil, the profit of mines, *&c.* would have affected us, or indeed any other people, as much as it did them. So that upon the whole, we have little reaſon either to blame king *Henry*'s conduct, or to repine at that of providence; the *Spaniards* have purchaſed *Mexico* and *Peru* too dearly, at the expence of their naval power; we are really richer in virtue of our northern colonies, which have ſo prodigiouſly increaſed our induſtry, our commerce and ſhipping.

THE great care the king had of maritime affairs, induced him to make in the elventh year of his reign, a treaty with the king of *Denmark*, whereby he ſecured to his

his ſubjects, and particularly to the inhabitants of *Briſtol*, the trade to *Iceland*, which they long before enjoyed, but had of late ſuffered ſome diſturbance. By the ſtipulations in this league it was agreed, that the *Engliſh* were to furniſh the inhabitants of that iſland with all kinds of proviſion, with coarſe cloth, and other commodities, without let or hindrance from the king of *Denmark*. This was a ſpecial privilege granted to no other nation, and it is very probable, would not have been granted to us, if the *Daniſh* commerce had not been in a declining ſtate, of which we have an authentic account in the work of a very ancient writer. The care of theſe affairs brought to the king's notice that celebrated *Venetian*, who in his ſervice firſt diſcovered the continent of *America*, and that country which is now called *Newfoundland*. Of him therefore we will give a more particular account [a].

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[a] Fœd. Dan. ii. Henr. VII. Art. iv. quod in tabula legationis MDCII. etiam habemus. Selden. Mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. xxxii.

THE HISTORY OF Sir JOHN CABOT.

THE *Venetians* throughout this whole century, were by far the moſt general traders in *Europe*, and had their factories in moſt of the northern kingdoms and ſtates, for the better managing their affairs. In *England* eſpecially many of them ſettled, at *London* and *Briſtol* particularly; and in this laſt place dwelt *John Cabot*, of whom we are to ſpeak: he had been long in *England* ſince his ſon *Sebaſtian*, who was born at *Briſtol*, was old enough to accompany him in his firſt voyage [b]. He was, it ſeems, a man perfectly ſkilled in all the ſciences requiſite to form an accompliſhed ſeaman, or a general trader; and having heard much of *Columbus*'s expedition, he addreſſed himſelf to the king, with propoſals for making like diſcoveries, in caſe he met with due encouragement. His offer was readily accepted, and the king by letters patents, dated in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of *John Cabot*, citizen of *Venice*, and to his three ſons, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sanctius*, leave to diſcover unknown lands, and to conquer and ſettle them with

[b] Pet. Martyr. hiſt. Ind. occ. dec. iii.

with many privileges; and with this ſingle reſtraint, that the ſhips they fitted out ſhould be obliged to return to the port of *Briſtol* [c]. Though theſe letters patents were granted in 1496, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to fit out any ſhips, and then *John Cabot* had a permiſſion from the king to take ſix *Engliſh* ſhips in any haven of the realm, of the burthen of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as ſhould be willing to go with him [d]. In conſequence of this licence, the king at his own expence, cauſed a ſhip to be fitted out at *Briſtol*; to this, the merchants of that city, and of *London*, added three or four ſmall veſſels freighted with proper commodities, which fleet ſailed in the ſpring of the year 1497 [e]. Our old chronicle-writers, particularly *Fabian* [f], tells us of a very rich iſland which *John Cabot* promiſed to diſcover; but in this they ſeemed to miſtake the matter, for want of thoroughly underſtanding the ſubject of which they were writing. *John Cabot* was to wiſe a man to pretend to know, before he ſaw it, what country he ſhould diſcover, whether iſland or continent; but what he propoſed was, to find a north-weſt paſſage to the *Indies*: ſo that he appears to have reaſoned in the ſame manner that *Columbus* did, who imagined that, as the *Portugueſe*, by ſailing eaſt, came to the weſt coaſt of the *Indies*, ſo he, by ſailing weſt, might reach their oppoſite ſhore. This, with his diſcovering the iſland of *Baccaloes*, or *Newfoundland*, was certainly the ſource of this ſtory.

JOHN Cabot having his ſon *Sebaſtian* with him, ſailed happily on their north-weſt courſe, 'till the 24th of

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 595. Hakluyt's collection of voyages, tom. iii. p. 4. [d] Ibid. p. 5. [e] Fabian's chronicle, as hereafter cited. [f] Ibid. Stowe, Speed.

June 1497, about five in the morning, when they firſt diſcovered land, which *John Cabot*, for that reaſon, called *Prima Viſta*, that is, firſt ſeen. Another iſland, leſs than the firſt, he ſtiled the iſland of St. *John*, becauſe it was found on the feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*. He afterwards ſailed down to cape *Florida*, and then returned with a good cargo, and three ſavages on board into *England*, where, it ſeems, he was knighted for this exploit: ſince, on the map of his diſcoveries, drawn by his ſon *Sebaſtian*, and cut by *Clement Adams*, which hung in the privy gallery at *Whitehall*, there was this inſcription under the author's picture. *Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis Aurati*, &c. [g] This was a very important diſcovery, ſince in truth it was the firſt time the continent of *America* had been ſeen, *Columbus* being unacquainted therewith, 'till his laſt voyage, which was the year following, when he coaſted along a part of the *Iſtmus* of *Darien*. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that our *Engliſh* writers have delivered theſe matters ſo confuſedly, eſpecially ſuch as lived under the reigns of queen *Elizabeth*, and king *James* I. and conſequently about the time of his ſon; and yet, ſo accurate are their relations, that ſome have been induced from them, to doubt whether *John Cabot* made any diſcoveries at all [h]. The Rev. Mr. *Samuel Purchas*, to whoſe labours the world is ſo much indebted, diſcovers a good deal of diſtaſte that *America* ſhould be ſo called, from *Americus Veſputius*, and aſſerts, that it ought rather to be called *Cabotiana*, or *Sebaſtiana*, becauſe, ſays he, *Sebaſtian Cabot* diſcovered more of it, than

[g] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, Hackluyt, and Purchaſe.
[h] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. i. p. 86.

than *Americus*, or *Columbus* himſelf [i]. In *Stowe*, [k], and *Speed* [l], we find this very diſcovery aſcribed wholly to *Sebaſtian*, without any mention of his father; and yet in *Fabian*'s chronicle, who lived in thoſe days, we have theſe two remarkable paſſages.

" In the thirteenth year of king *Henry* VII. (by means " of one *John Cabot* a *Venetian*, which made himſelf " very expert and cunning in the knowledge of the cir- " cuit of the world, and iſlands of the ſame, as by a " ſea-card, and other demonſtrations, reaſonable he ſhew- " ed) the king cauſed to man and victual a ſhip at *Bri-* " *ſtol*, to ſearch for an iſland, which he ſaid, he knew " well was rich, and repleniſhed with great commodities; " which ſhip, thus manned and victualled at the king's " coſt, diverſe merchants of *London*, ventured in her " ſmall ſtocks, being in her as chief patron the ſaid *Vene-* " *tian*. And in the company of the ſaid ſhip, ſailed alſo " out of *Briſtol*, three or four ſmall ſhips, freighted with " ſlight and groſs merchandizes, as coarſe cloth, caps, " laces, points, and other trifles. And ſo departed from " *Briſtol* in the beginning of *May*, of whom in this ma- " yor's time returned no tidings.

Under the fourteenth year of the ſame king's reign, he tells us, " There were brought unto him, *i. e. Henry* " VII. three men taken in the new-found iſland; theſe, " ſays he, were cloathed in Beaſts ſkins, and did eat raw " fleſh, and ſpake ſuch ſpeech that no man could under- " ſtand them, and in their demeanour like brute beaſts, " whom the king kept a time after, of the which, up- " on two years after, I ſaw two apparelled after the man- " ner

[i] Pilgrimage, p. 602. [k] Annals, p. 480. [l] Chronicle, p. 744.

"ner of *Engliſhmen*, in *Weſtminſter*-palace, which at that "time I could not diſcern from *Engliſhmen*, till I was "learned what they were, but as for ſpeech, I heard "none of them utter one word."

THUS it appears from the beſt authority that can be deſired, that of a contemporary writer; this diſcovery was made by *John Cabot*, the father of *Sebaſtian*, and indeed ſo much we might have gathered if we had wanted this authority; for *Sebaſtian Cabot* being, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, alive in 1555, it is plain, that at the time this voyage was made, he could not be above twenty years old, when, though he might accompany his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake ſuch an expedition himſelf. It is probable, that *John Cabot* died in *England*, but when or where is uncertain, at leaſt for any thing I have read.

WHILE *Cabot* was employed in this expedition, (which, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was proſecuted by his ſon *Sebaſtian* and others, within the compaſs of a few years) *Bartholomew Columbus* had paſſed from *Spain* to the *Weſt-Indies*, where he acquainted his brother with the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* court, and the reaſon there was to apprehend that it would not be long before other adventurers would endeavour to interfere in his diſcoveries [m]. This quickened the admiral, and on his returning into *Spain*, he gave ſuch hints to that court, as induced it to take all imaginable pains to ſecure the great ſeamen of every nation, in their ſervice, which in ſome reſpect anſwered their purpoſe; ſince *Magellan*, who diſcovered the paſſage into

[m] Herrera's general hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies, vol. i. p. 136, —139.

into the *South-Seas*, which has been of ſuch infinitive ſervice to the *Spaniards*, was by this policy detached from his duty to his king and country, for the ſake of pay, and this was likewiſe the caſe of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and others [n]. In ſo ſhort a time as four years after *John Cabot's* firſt voyage, we find, that king *Henry* granted his letters patents to *Hugh Elliot*, and *Thomas Aſhurſt*, merchants of *Briſtol*, and others, for ſettling colonies in new-diſcovered countries, which grant bears date the 9th of *December* 1502 [o], and is another proof of this monarch's aſſiduity in promoting commerce: he never indeed ſuffered any opportunity of that ſort to eſcape him.

PHILIP of *Auſtria*, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of *Caſtile*, ſailed from the low countries into *Spain*, together with his queen, in 1506; but meeting unhappily with a ſtorm, they were driven on the *Engliſh* coaſt, and being exceedingly fatigued, they would, contrary to the advice about them, land at *Weymouth*; of which the king having notice, he ſent the earl of *Arundel*, with three hundred horſe, to attend them, who brought them from thence by torch-light, and conducted them to his own houſe [p]. Some months they were detained by the extraordinary civilities paid them, and after their departure, it appeared how great uſe a wiſe prince may make even of the ſlighteſt accidents. In this ſhort ſpace, the king did a great deal for himſelf, and not a little for his ſubjects; he prevailed upon king *Philip* to put into his hands, *Edmund de la Pole*, earl of *Suffolk*, nearly related by his mother

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[n] Herrera, Hakluyt, Purchas, Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, [o] Rymer's Fœdera, vol xiii. p. 37. [p] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Bacon, Rapin.

mother to the royal line [q]; and he likewiſe concluded a very advantagious treaty of commerce between the crowns of *England* and *Caſtile* [r], which proved afterwards of great importance.

As to the remaining part of his reign, it was ſpent in peace, and in cares of a nature which by no means recommend them to our notice, farther than as the mention of them may prove admonitory to other princes. He had all his life been of a very frugal diſpoſition, and had alſo ſhewn a ſingular dexterity in the art of filling his coffers: but in the latter part of his life this grew upon him to a very great degree, and as covetous princes never want fit inſtruments, ſo this king found in *Empſon* and *Dudley*, two ſuch as ſcarce ever had their fellows. They put him upon ſuch ſevere and unreaſonable extenſions of penal laws, as made him rich as a man, but poor as a prince, ſince by wringing out their wealth, he effectually loſt the hearts of his ſubjects. Another misfortune was, that theſe grievances fell upon the moſt eminent traders in thoſe times. Thus ſir *William Capel*, an oppulent citizen, who had been mayor of *London*, ſuffered many years perſecution, and a long impriſonment, beſides great loſſes. Out of *Thomas Knefworth*, at the expiration of his mayoralty, with his two ſheriffs, the king and his miniſters ſqueezed fourteen hundred pounds. *Chriſtopher Hawes*, an eminent mercer, and alderman of *London*, broke his heart through vexation, and ſir *Lawrence Aylmer*, a great merchant, and who had been mayor, remained a priſoner in the *Tower*, 'till he was delivered in the next reign [s]. Yet in ſome things, the king ſhewed a magnificent

[q] Stowe's Annals, p. 484, 485. [r] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 142. [s] Stowe's, Holingſhed, Bacon, Herbert.

magnificent ſpirit, particularly in building that noble chapel at *Weſtminſter*, which bears his name, and which coſt him fourteen thouſand pounds; and a like ſum he laid out in the conſtruction of a new ſhip, called, *The Great Harry* [t], and which, properly ſpeaking, was the firſt ſhip of the royal navy: for though he, as well as other princes, hired many ſhips, when he had occaſion to tranſport forces abroad, yet he ſeems to have been the only king who thought of avoiding this inconveniency, by raiſing ſuch a naval force as might be at all times ſufficient for the ſervice of the ſtate. A deſign worthy of his wiſdom to project, and of being perfected under the more fortunate reign of his ſon.

As to the concern which this wiſe monarch ſhewed for trade, ſome hints of it have been already given, and to theſe, upon the review of our work, a few farther inſtances may be added. In the year 1487, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was alſo lord high chancellor of *England*, opened the parliament with a ſpeech, in which, amongſt other things, he told them, that the king recommended to their ſerious conſideration, trade and manufactures. Accordingly, ſeveral wiſe laws were made in that reſpect, and in the treaties that were concluded with foreign princes, he was remarkably careful to make ſuch proviſions, as turned highly to the benefit of the nation. There is the leſs wonder to be made at this, becauſe the king himſelf was not only very well acquainted with the advantages ariſing from foreign traffick, as a ſtateſman, but knew them experimentally likewiſe, being a very extenſive trader himſelf, and that in more ways than one. As he found it requiſite

[t] Stowe Annals, p. 484.

quiſite for him to have a certain number of ſhips of his own, ſo when theſe were not employed, or likely to be employed, he was content to let them out to merchants for hire. He was very ready alſo to aſſiſt with conſiderable ſums of money, ſuch as undertook any new trade, or ſet up any new manufacture, provided he had a ſhare in the profit proportionable to the riſk he run. He alſo ſold licenſes for dealing in prohibited commodities, either by importing or exporting, for the managing of which extraordinary and unuſual branches of his revenue, his principal inſtrument was *Edmund Dudley*, Eſq; a man of quick parts, and whoſe genius was wonderfully extenſive. Whatever diſtaſte might be taken to ſome of theſe practices, it is very certain, that he ingratiated himſelf by others, and that till within the four laſt years of his reign, he was very popular in *London*, to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that he not only accepted the freedom of the merchant-taylors company, but dined alſo publickly in their hall, wearing the dreſs, taking the ſeat, and doing the honours of the table, as if he had been their maſter.

In reſpect to the taxes impoſed in his reign, they were not very large or burthenſome. It is true, that having repealed the laws of his predeceſſor, he thought himſelf at liberty to demand an aid of his ſubjects, by way of *benevolence*, for which he aſſigned this reaſon, that it would be a means of exempting the poorer ſort of people from feeling the weight of a burthen they were leaſt able to bear. It is not at all improbable, that he was induced to take this ſtep, from that experience he learned in the beginning of his reign, that nothing ſo ſoon diſpoſed the populace to inſurrections, as the levying new taxes, how moderate ſoever. But his new method likewiſe, had its inconveniences, tho' he was far enough from puſhing it to a degree of oppreſ-

ſion,

ſion, ſince the money which was raiſed under the title of *benevolence*, in the whole city of *London*, did not amount to quite ten thouſand pounds. In one thing he ſhewed his mercantile principle extreamly. He demanded a loan of the city of *London*, for a certain time, and with ſome difficulty obtained ſix thouſand pounds, but paying it very exactly, when he had occaſion for a greater ſum, it was raiſed with eaſe, and this too, being punctually paid, he there reſted his credit, reſerving the confidence he had eſtabliſhed, for any real neceſſity that might require it, the former loans being rather out of policy, than for relief. The wealth of the nation certainly encreaſed extreamly during his pacific reign. It was the large eſtates of the merchants that expoſed them to be pillaged by his inſtruments of iniquity; and as for the nobility, he was not without ſome reaſon jealous of their great power and their great fortunes. When he ſeized upon Sir *William Stanley*'s effects, who was younger brother only to the earl of *Derby*, he found they amounted to forty thouſand marks in ready money and jewels, beſides an eſtate in land of three thouſand pounds a year. At the marriage of *Arthur*, prince of *Wales*, with the infanta *Catherine*, all who aſſiſted at it, were moſt magnificently dreſſed, ſir *Thomas Brandon*, an officer of the king's houſhold, wearing a gold chain of the value of fifteen hundred pounds, yet the fortune he gave the princeſs *Margaret*, his daughter, when ſhe married the king of *Scots*, was no more than thirty thouſand nobles, or ten thouſand pounds; and the allowance ſtipulated for the lady *Anne*, his wife's ſiſter, when ſhe married *Thomas* lord *Howard*, did not much exceed one hundred and twenty pounds a year.

He was the firſt of our monarchs, who coined ſhillings, and they were very large and fair, there being but forty in

a pound weight of ſilver. His coin in general, both gold and ſilver, was of due weight and fineneſs; but when he made his expedition to *Bolloign*, he either coined, or tolerated a baſe kind of money, called *Dandiprats*, which, perhaps, was a right piece of policy, but it proved a bad precedent, and afforded his ſon a colour for ſinking the value of his money, beyond all example. The treaſure left by this prince, in his coffers, at the time of his deceaſe, not only exceeded what had ever been amaſſed by his predeceſſors, but ſurpaſſed, beyond compariſon, what any of his ſucceſſors have ever ſeen in their exchequers; for the lord chief juſtice *Coke* tells us, it amounted to five millions three hundred thouſand pounds, moſt in foreign coin, and too much of it acquired by methods unworthy of a king, and more eſpecially ſo wiſe a king as he was.

OUR hiſtorians tell us, that king *Henry* intended to have made a thorough change in his meaſures, and to have relieved his people from all the grievances of which they complained, when he was taken off by death, on the 22d of *April*, 1509, in the 23d year of his reign. He was allowed by his contemporaries, to have been one of the wiſeſt princes [a] of the age in which he lived, and his memory hath been commended to the reverence of poſterity, by the inimitable pen of the great lord chancellor *Bacon*, who, in doing juſtice to this king's great abilities, has ſhewn his own; as by freely cenſuring his errors, he has ſet a noble example to *Engliſh* hiſtorians, to be more ſollicitous about truth, than the reputation of themſelves, as writers, or the glory of thoſe whoſe actions they record.

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[a] See his character in Daniel, Mezeray, and other foreign hiſtorians, as well as in Stowe and Speed.

An example which every age has rendered the more difficult to follow, ſince, as corruption increaſes, it not only enervates the will, but alſo warps the underſtanding.

CHAP. IX.

The Naval Hiſtory of the Reign of Henry VIII. *including the Memoirs of ſuch eminent Sea-Officers as flouriſhed therein.*

THERE never was a prince who aſcended the *Engliſh* throne, of whom his ſubjects formed greater hopes than were entertained of *Henry* VIII. at his acceſſion. He was then about eighteen years old, of ſtrong natural parts, heightened by an excellent education; and though he afterwards diſcovered a good deal of obſtinacy in his temper, yet in the dawn of his reign, he ſhewed himſelf very inclinable to liſten to good advice, and his father left him as able counſellors, as perhaps any monarch ever had about him. His firſt acts were conformable to his ſubjects hopes; he delivered ſuch as his father unjuſtly kept in confinement, and in their ſtead, *Empſon*, *Dudley*, and their creatures, were impriſoned *. Yet even theſe were not deſtroyed, as ſome have ſuggeſted, by a haſty and rigorous proſecution, but

* Biſhop Godwin, in his Annals, Lord Herbert, in the Life of Henry VIII. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

were left, as they deſerved, to the due ſeverity of the law, their great knowledge in which they had ſo flagrantly abuſed, to the ruin of others [x]. *Dudley*, during his confinement in the *Tower*, compoſed a very extraordinary book, entitled, *The Tree of the Common-wealth*, wherein he ſhewed a prodigious capacity as a ſtateſman, and from which (though, for ought I know, it was never publiſhed) many peſtiferous ſchemes have taken their riſe, his family having held the reins of government here for near half a century. In other reſpects the king ſhewed himſelf a very gracious prince, having a like ſenſe of his own dignity, and of his duty towards his people.

In the year 1511, the king of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* demanded aſſiſtance againſt the *Moors*; whereupon king *Henry*, who was deſirous of maintaining to the utmoſt the glory of the *Engliſh* nation, ſent him fifteen hundred archers, under the command of Sir *Thomas Darcy*, with whom went abundance of gentlemen, of the beſt families of the kingdom, voluntiers. They ſailed from *Plymouth* eſcorted by a ſquadron of four royal ſhips, and landed happily on the firſt of *June* in the ſouth of *Spain*; but the politic king, who wanted nothing more than their appearance to bring his enemies to terms, inſtead of employing, diſmiſſed them with a few preſents, and ſo they returned into *England* without encountring any other hazards than thoſe of the ſea [y]. The ſame year, the king ſent a like aid to the dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, which met with better ſucceſs; for after having anſwered effectually the ends for which they were

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[x] See this caſe at large in Anderſon's reports

[y] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Herbert, Rapin.

were ſent, they returned with ſmall loſs, and much honour to their native country [a].

NOTWITHSTANDING what had ſo lately happened in *Spain*, the artful *Ferdinand*, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, who cajoled king *Henry* with fair words, and fine promiſes, drew him to make war on *France*, in hopes of recovering the dominions of his anceſtors. With this view, king *Henry* was perſuaded to ſend a numerous army, under the command of the marquiſs of *Dorſet* by ſea into *Biſcay*, in order to penetrate that way into the dutchy of *Guyenne*. This expedition had worſe conſequences than the former, *Ferdinand* never intending that theſe troops ſhould act againſt the *French*, but by their remaining for ſome time in his country, ſought an opportunity of over-running *Navarre*, to which he had no title, while the *French* awed by the *Engliſh* army, durſt not move to its aſſiſtance. But during the time he made this conqueſt, ſickneſs deſtroyed numbers of the *Engliſh*, ſo that ſhortly after, they were conſtrained to return [b]. In *Auguſt* the ſame year, there happened a bloody engagement between the *Engliſh* and *French* fleets, of which we ſhall give the reader hereafter a diſtinct account, and the *Sovereign*, the largeſt ſhip in the *Engliſh* navy being burnt therein, the king built another of ſtill greater burthen, called *Henry Grace de Dieu* [c]. In the month of *March* 1513, another royal fleet put to ſea, which engaging the *French* on the twenty-fifth of *April*, the admiral was killed; which loſs was ſoon repaired, and the *French* driven to take ſhelter in their ports [a]. In

[a] Cooper's Chronicle. fol. 274. Stowe's Annals, p. 488, 489. Herbert, Rapin. [b] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 620. Cooper, Stowe, Herbert. [c] Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. [a] Cooper, Stowe, Herbert.

Auguſt the king went in perſon with a great army into *France*, where he made ſome conqueſts, while his admiral ſpoiled the *French* coaſts, as he alſo did the next year, ſo that the *French* king was glad to obtain peace: upon the concluſion of which he married *Mary*, who was ſiſter to our king *Henry*, but did not long out-live his marriage [d].

FRANCIS I. ſucceeded him, between whom and the emperor *Maximilian*, king *Henry* kept as even as he could, ſometimes aſſiſting the emperor, and ſometimes ſeeming to favour the *French* king, who prevailed on him in 1520, to paſs over to *Calais*, in order to have an interview with him; and it followed accordingly, between the towns of *Ardres* and *Guines*. Our hiſtorians give us long deſcriptions of the pomp and ſplendour which accompanied this meeting; but a ſhort paſſage in a *French* writer, ſeems to me better worth tranſcribing than any thing they have ſaid. He tells us, that at this interview, king *Henry* cauſed an *Engliſh* archer to be embroidered on his tent, with this ſentence under him, *He ſhall prevail with whom I ſide*; which, ſays the judicious hiſtorian, was not only his motto, but his practice as long as he lived [e]. In 1522, there aroſe new differences between this monarch and the *French* king, which were not a little heightened by the coming over of the emperor *Charles* V. who paid great court to *Henry*, and perſuaded him to ſend over a numerous army into *France*, which he did ſhortly after, under the command of *Charles Brandon* duke of *Suffolk*, who did the *French* infinite miſchief, without doing his country much good. During this war, the emperor's fleet acted in

[d] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Mr. Chalon.

[e] Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Tom. iv. p. 494.

in conjunction with the *Engliſh*, whereby the *French* were driven to great diſtreſs, and the *Scots* being engaged in their intereſt, ſuffered alſo very ſeverely; but when the king evidently ſaw, that by his aſſiſtance the emperor *Charles* was become too powerful, and affected to manage all the affairs of *Europe* at his will, he wiſely withdrew his auxiliaries, and purſued ſuch a conduct as ſeemed moſt likely to preſerve the balance of power [f]. In 1526, a peace was concluded with the *French* king, upon very advantagious terms, and ſoon after cardinal *Wolſey* went over into *France*, and had a conference with that prince. Thenceforward the king's thoughts were much taken up with his domeſtic affairs, and with alterations in religion; ſo that, except ſome diſputes with *Scotland*, wherein their king received ſuch a check as broke his heart [g], there happened nothing material till the year 1544, when king *Henry* joined again with the emperor againſt the *French*; whereupon Sir *John Wallop* was ſent into *France*, and a conſiderable force marched into *Scotland*, under the earl of *Hertford*; Sir *John Dudley*, Viſcount *Liſle*, waſting the coaſts in the mean time with a great fleet [h]. In the midſt of the ſummer, the duke of *Suffolk* entered the *French* dominions with a great army, and laid ſiege to *Beloigne*, which was alſo blocked up at ſea, by the admiral viſcount *Liſle*, who, after the place was taken, was conſtituted governor thereof, the king and his forces paſſing from thence into *England* [i]. The next year the *French* fleet made ſeveral attempts on the *Engliſh* coaſt, with indifferent ſuc-

[f] Herbert, P. Daniel, Rapin.
[g] Drummond's hiſtory of the five James's, Buchanan, Herbert.
[h] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Rapin.
[i] Cooper, Stowe, Speed.

ceſs, to revenge which, viſcount *Liſle* landed in *Normandy*, and burnt all the adjacent country [k]. In 1546, the *French* made an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Bolaigne*, the earl of *Hertford* and viſcount *Liſle*, having obliged them either to come to a battel, or to raiſe the ſiege, they choſe the latter, and after ſome other attempts at ſea, which were unſucceſsful, a peace enſued, which laſted as long as the king lived [l]. I have touched only the principal circumſtances in theſe wars, to avoid repeating things in the memoirs of the admirals; but before I come to theſe, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the favour ſhewn by this king to merchants, and ſuch as made it their endeavour to diſcover new countries, or in any other way to promote the commerce and naval power of *England*, both of which he much affected, and very throughly underſtood.

Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a merchant of *Briſtol*, in the year 1527, addreſſed himſelf to the king by a letter, wherein he repreſented what great advantages the emperor and the king of *Portugal* drew from their colonies, and in a very pathetic ſtrain exhorted him to undertake diſcoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, ſupported by very plauſible reaſons [m]. The king underſtanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, yielded to his requeſt, and ordered two ſhips to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. *Thorne* himſelf had the direction. The iſſue however of this voyage is very uncertainly recorded: all we know of it is, that one of the

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[k] Herbert, Rapin. [l] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Rapin.
[m] Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. ii. p. 250.

ſhips employed therein was loſt, and that the other returned home without diſcovering any north-weſt paſſage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in ſuch as were concerned. Mr. *Thorne* the principal undertaker lived to be afterwards mayor of *Briſtol*, and dying in a good old age, with a very fair reputation, lies buried in the *Temple* church [n].

In 1530, Mr. *William Hawkins* of *Plymouth*, father of the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, Knight, and himſelf eſteemed one of the ableſt ſeamen of his time, fitted out a ſtout tall ſhip, ſays my author, at his own expence, called the *Paul* of *Plymouth*, of the burthen of 250 tons, in which he made three voyages to the coaſt of *Braſil*, touching alſo on the coaſt of *Guinea*, where he traded in ſlaves, gold, and elephants teeth, opening thereby the channel of that rich and extenſive trade, which has been ſince carried on in thoſe parts [o]. Leſs ſucceſsful, though undertaken with greater hopes, was the famous voyage of Mr. *Hore* of *London*, a worthy merchant, and one of the moſt remarkable men of his time. His perſon was tall and graceful, his knowledge ſolid and extenſive, his behaviour inſinuating and polite: all which is neceſſary to be obſerved, ſince by his diſcourſes on the honour and profit of diſcoveries in north *America*, he inſpired no leſs than thirty gentlemen of family and fortune, with a deſire of ſharing in the fatigues of his intended voyage [p]. They equipped two ſhips, the one called the *Trinity*, of 140 tons, commanded by Mr. *Hore*; the other, the *Minion*, of leſs burthen; and on board theſe there embarked in all

[n] Ibid vol. i. p. 212. Ibid. p. iii. p. 210. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iii. p. 129, 809. Weever's funeral monuments, p. 443. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 700.

[o] Ibid.

one hundred and twenty perſons. They ſailed from *Graveſend* on the thirtieth of *April*, 1536, and without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coaſts of *Newfoundland*, where, while they were intent on diſcoveries, they were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that ſome of them, when on ſhore, killed and eat their companions. At laſt, when they were on the point of being all ſtarved, a *French* ſhip arrived well provided with victuals, of which they made themſelves maſters, and returned therein to *England*; but in ſuch a miſerable condition, though they were not out above ſeven months, that Sir *William Butts* and his lady, did not know their own ſon, who was one of the company, but by an extraordinary wart on his knee. Some months after arrived the *Frenchmen* whom they had ſpoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received, into which king *Henry* having made a ſtrict enquiry, he was ſo much moved at the miſeries theſe brave men had ſuffered, that he generouſly repaid the *French* to their ſatisfaction out of the treaſury, and promoted ſeveral of thoſe who returned from this diſaſtrous voyage; amongſt the reſt Mr. *Armigal Wade*, who was many years after clerk of the council to himſelf, and his ſon *Edward* VI [q]. One thing more I muſt remark before I quit this ſubject, and that is, that the Revd. Mr. *Hakluyt*, from whom we have the particulars, rode two hundred miles in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. *Butts*, the only ſurviving perſon of thoſe who had made this voyage [r].

THE *Engliſh* commerce during the reign of this prince extended itſelf very much, eſpecially towards the new diſ-

[q] Ibid. v. iii. p. 130. [r] Ibid. p. 131.

diſcovered lands in the north, to which by degrees a regular trade was fixed, and in the *Levant* incouraged by the great intercourſe between the king, and the two maritime ſtates of *Italy*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*. In proof of this I will give the title of a patent granted by this monarch to a *Genoeſe*, to execute the office of conſul of the *Engliſh* nation in the iſle of *Chio*, the original of which is ſtill preſerved in the library of the ſociety for propagating chriſtian knowledge. It runs thus: *Exemplar literarum pat. Henrici regis octavi, in quibus conceſſit Benedicto Juſtiniani mercatori genuenſi, officium ſive locum magiſtri, protectoris, ſive conſulis; infra inſulam ſive civitatem de Scio. Teſte rege apud Chelſebith, quinto die Octobris reg.* XXIII.

It ſeems indeed to have been the king's maxim, as may be gathered from the ſtate-papers of his reign, which have reached our times, to have made uſe of all his foreign negotiations for the furtherance of trade, to which his agents *Ley* and *Pace*, the former employed in *Spain*, and the latter to *Venice* and the *Swiſs* cantons, had a ſtrong inclination. As to *Pace*, he had formed a plan for enlarging our foreign trade into the *Turkiſh* dominions, which was hindered from coming to the king's notice by the arts of cardinal *Wolſey*, who firſt decryed him as a madman, and then by his ill uſage made him really ſuch[a].

After doing, as indeed it was our duty to do, juſtice to this monarch's intentions, which with reſpect to foreign affairs, were always what they ought to be, that is, he meant to preſerve the independency of the ſove-

reigns

[a] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. in the Appendix. Herbert, Burnet, Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis.

reigns of *Europe*, and make himſelf the umpire of their differences; we muſt next in juſtice to our ſubject, ſay ſomewhat of the conſequences that attended his interfering ſo much as he did with the affairs of the continent, and of the high price he paid for that reputation which he attained. But previous to this, let it be obſerved, that ſuch as have cenſured him for changing ſides, as the hiſtory of his reign plainly ſhews he did, are in the wrong to aſcribe it to the inconſtancy of his temper, ſince, as that learned antiquary Sir *Robert Cotton* truly obſerves, it ought rather to be placed to the account of his allies.

WHEN the emperor *Maximilian* entered into a league with this monarch, he promiſed to aſſiſt in perſon, to recover for him the crown of *France*, and to repel the tyrannical king who then wore that crown; he promiſed him likewiſe the dutchy of *Milan* to him and his heirs male, to be held as a fief of the empire; and, as if this had not been enough, he likewiſe aſſured him the reverſion of the imperial crown, and the *Roman* empire. But, when he had ſerved his turn, he left king *Henry* to ſerve himſelf how he could. Yet this uſage did not hinder him from entering into a confederacy with *Charles V.* who fed him with the hopes, that when by their joint ſupport the conſtable of *Bourbon* ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *France*, he ſhould do homage for it to king *Henry*; yet afterwards through his aſſiſtance their affairs being in a proſperous condition, and the *French* king in the greateſt diſtreſs, when Mr. *Pace* the king of *England*'s ambaſſador deſired farther aſſurances, they were plainly refuſed, ſo that to break with ſuch allies as theſe, ought not to draw any imputation upon his character. The times in which he lived, and the temper of thoſe princes

princes with whom he had to deal, may furniſh ſome excuſe for his conduct, and perhaps, the ſecret engagements of his miniſters, by the means of penſions, or promiſes from foreign powers, might if they could be thoroughly expoſed, juſtify the king ſtill farther, by proving that he was miſled in thoſe meaſures, which induced him to take ſuch ſteps for maintaining his intereſt and grandeur abroad, as deeply diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed his ſubjects here at home.

THAT immenſe treaſure his father left behind him, was quickly conſumed in the great expeditions he undertook, in the tranſporting vaſt armies to the continent, the maintaining them in the field, and in garriſons, and the high ſubſidies granted to his allies, while he was fighting all the time in other men's quarrels, and got little or nothing, at leaſt that was worth keeping, for himſelf. When all that maſs of money was gone, he demanded and received ſuch aſſiſtance from his parliament, as none of his predeceſſors had obtained. To all this they added, that prodigious grant of the eſtates of all the religious houſes in this realm, which at that time amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds *per annum*, and which were veſted in the crown for ever. Beſides theſe legal impoſitions, this king acquired no ſmall ſum, by methods which had no better ſupport than the ſtretch of his prerogative, to mention only a few. In the 14th year of his reign, he had a loan of ten *per Cent.* out of the perſonal eſtate of ſuch of his ſubjects as were worth from twenty to three hundred pounds, and twenty marks from ſuch as were worth more. This indeed was only borrowed, and they had privy ſeals for their money; but the parliament kindly interpoſed four years after, and releaſed his majeſty

from

from the obligation of paying ſo much as a farthing of thoſe debts; neither muſt it be forgot, that in collecting this loan, the value of every man's eſtate was put upon his oath, ſo that every ſubject was in jeopardy either of poverty or perjury. In the 17th year of his reign he had another great loan, in which an oath of ſecrecy was adminiſtred to the commiſſioners, and they were empowered to tender the like oath to ſuch as came before them; tho' this was ſtiled an amicable grant, yet the commiſſioners to quicken men in their offers, threatned them with impriſonment of their perſons, and confiſcation of their eſtates. In the 36th year of his reign, he demanded and received a loan of eight-pence in the pound of ſuch perſons as were worth from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, and one ſhilling in the pound from ſuch as were worth more, by which it appears, that as he fell early into neceſſity, notwithſtanding the rich exchequer that he came to, ſo he was not long out of neceſſity after that prodigious acceſſion to the royal revenue, made by the confiſcation, before mentioned, of the abby lands.

THE worſt of all was, that when he found himſelf preſſed for money, he took the worſt way of raiſing it, which was that of practiſing upon his coin. It may however ſeem doubtful, whether the alteration he made in the firſt year of his reign was with this view. He did indeed, coin forty-five ſhillings out of a pound of ſilver, by which he raiſed that metal to three ſhillings and nine-pence an ounce; but as the ſtandard was not altered, it is not at all improbable, that the motives upon which he made this alteration might be honourable enough. But in the latter end of his reign, his conduct in this reſpect became inexcuſable, becauſe highly detrimental to his people.

THE

THE firſt ſtroke of this bad policy was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he not only divided the pound into forty-eight ſhillings, by which, if the coin had remained in its former purity, ſilver would have been raiſed to four ſhillings an ounce; but added alſo two ounces of baſe metal in the pound, inſtead of eighteen-penny weight, which raiſed it nine-pence half-penny an ounce more. Not contented with this, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, he coined money that was but half ſilver; and tho' ſome of the chronicles of thoſe times ſay, that by this he raiſed it to four ſhillings an ounce, yet in fact, he brought it up to eight ſhillings. In the next year he gave the finiſhing ſtroke, by coining money that had but four ounces of ſilver in the pound weight, ſo that ſilver was then at twelve ſhillings an ounce, the conſequence of which was, that after his death his ſhilling fell to nine-pence, and afterwards to ſix-pence, that is, people would take them for no more.

IT is to be obſerved, that the greateſt part of this money was coined into teſtons, which tho' they were never called ſhillings, yet paſſed in his time for twelve-pence; they are ſaid to have been of braſs covered with ſilver, and theſe were the pieces that fell firſt to nine-pence, and then to ſix-pence, and a piece of that value being found very convenient in change, they were coined of good ſilver at that value in ſucceeding times, and from hence came the word teſter. He made likewiſe ſome alterations in his gold coins, all which was occaſioned by his foreign wars, and other expenſive meaſures, which forced him upon theſe methods unknown to any of his royal predeceſſors, even in the times of their greateſt neceſſities.

IT

It is inconceivable, what ſtrange and what bad effects this debaſement of the coin produced, and which the common people knew not how to aſcribe to its proper cauſe, from whence they were lead into a variety of errors, which naturally rendered them deſirous of very improper remedies. All things of a ſudden grew extravagantly dear, as indeed, how ſhould it be otherwiſe? For let a prince be ever ſo powerful, he cannot change the nature, nor even the value of things, nor will his debaſing his coin, ſink the worth of the commodities or manufactures that are to be purchaſed with it. At firſt ſuch alterations will create great confuſion, which cannot but be detrimental to private property; yet by degrees, men will be taught to ſet up their natural againſt the regal prerogative, and when they find money of leſs value than it ſhould be, they will inſiſt upon having more money. But notwithſtanding, experience points them to this remedy in their private dealings, yet as all men are buyers, as well as ſellers, it is eaſy to perceive, that in ſuch a ſituation of things, a general clamour will ariſe about the dearneſs of neceſſary commodities, which may be as it then was attributed to falſe cauſes, which occaſioned not only ineffectual remedies to be applied, but ſuch as were alſo injurious, and productive of freſh inconveniences.

To this may be aſcribed, many of the complaints that are to be met with in the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and many of the laws too that were founded on popular conceit, and which, tho' they were enacted to give public ſatisfaction, were repealed again in ſucceeding reigns, when they were felt to be public grievances. If, as the *roman* poet obſerves, there is a pleaſure in beholding ſtorms and tempeſts when we are ſafe and out of their reach,

there

there is certainly much greater ſatisfaction in contemplating the political foul weather of former times, which we are not only exempt from feeling, but which our preſent happy conſtitution ſecures us from any apprehenſion that we ſhall ever feel. But this ſatisfaction may be ſtill heightened, by a rational reflection upon what paſſed in thoſe times, on the connection between miſtakes in policy, the miſchiefs created by them, and the miſconſtructions that were ſometimes put on theſe by thoſe who ſuffered them.

It is the power of making theſe remarks, and of ſetting things even of the nieeſt nature in their true light, that is one of the greateſt advantages attending freedom. In times paſt, no doubt, there might be many who had heads clear enough to make theſe, or perhaps better reflections, but they were obliged to conceal them; becauſe reaſon of ſtate would have made that a crime, which was commendable in itſelf, but which will never be commended but amongſt a free people. The meaſures that we have cenſured and expoſed, were certainly marks of the power, the exceſſive power of the prince by whom they were taken, and who, it is very probable, did not foreſee the conſequences that would attend them; they ſerved ſome immediate purpoſe, and he who is urged by an ambitious will, when he is poſſeſſed of abſolute power, will ſeldom look further. But thoſe who live under milder princes, and in better times, will diſcern from ſuch hiſtories, the dangers to which a people muſt be always expoſed who want the ſafe guard of a legal conſtitution, which may defend them from having thoſe privileges beſtowed upon them by God, torn from them at the will of one of their fellow-creatures.

But

But it is time to paſs from theſe matters to the glorious ſeamen, to whoſe memories we have undertaken to do right, and of whom ſeveral flouriſhed in this martial reign, that are but very ſlightly mentioned in thoſe hiſtories where we might reaſonably have expected the beſt accounts of them: as far as the narrowneſs of our limits will permit, we will endeavour to ſupply that defect here, beginning with,

Sir EDWARD HOWARD, *lord high admiral of* England, *and knight of the moſt noble order of the* GARTER.

IF the advantage of an illuſtrious deſcent, adds, as we commonly ſuppoſe it does, to the reputation of great atchievements; then the memory of this worthy man will have a double right to our reſpect. He was a ſecond ſon of the moſt noble houſe of *Norfolk*, and derived from the example of his father, thoſe qualities which moſt adorn the higheſt titles; untainted loyalty and invincible courage. He began early to teſtify his inclination to the ſea-ſervice, ſince, we find him employed in the *Flanders* expedition, in 1492, when king *Henry* VII. thought fit to aſſiſt the duke of *Burgundy* againſt his rebellious ſubjects. As we purpoſely omitted an account of that expedition, in his reign, let us inſert it here. The *Flemings*, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, grew uneaſy under the yoke of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and under the command of the baron *de Ravenſtein*, began to throw it off. In order to this, they ſeized the town and harbour of *Sluys*, from whence they fitted out abundance of veſſels,

pretty

of pretty conſiderable force, and under colour of purſuing their enemies, took and plundered veſſels of all nations without diſtinction; and as the *Engliſh* trade to *Flanders* was then very conſiderable, their ſhips ſuffered at leaſt as much as any other; which was the true reaſon why king *Henry*, upon the firſt application of the duke of *Burgundy*, ſent a ſquadron of twelve ſail, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, with whom went our Sir *Edward Howard*, then a very young man, to learn the art of war. The duke of *Saxony*, in conſequence of his alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, marched with an army into *Flanders*, and beſieged *Sluys*, by land; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, thereupon, blocked it up with his fleet by ſea. The port was defended by two ſtrong caſtles; which the *Flemings*, who had nothing to truſt to but force, defended with unparalleled obſtinacy, inſomuch, that though *Poynings* attacked them conſtantly every day, for twenty days ſucceſſively, yet he made no great impreſſion, till at laſt, through accident the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the caſtles was preſerved, took fire; whereupon the beſieged were glad to ſurrender their city to the duke of *Saxony*, and their port and caſtles to the *Engliſh*[t]. In this expedition, Sir *Edward* was made a knight, for his extraordinary bravery, of which he gave frequent inſtances, during that long reign; and ſo throughly eſtabliſhed his reputation, that king *Henry* VIII. on his acceſſion, made choice of him for his ſtandard-bearer[u], which in thoſe days, was not only a mark of particular favour, but of the higheſt confidence and reſpect.

[t] Polyd. Virg. p. 584. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Herbert. [u] Pat. 1. Hentic. viii. p. 1. m. 24.

In the fourth year of the ſame reign, he was created lord high admiral of *England* [w], and in that ſtation, convoyed the marquiſs of *Dorſet* into *Spain*, of whoſe expedition we have already ſpoken, as alſo of the manner in which it ended. The lord admiral after the landing of the forces, put to ſea again, and arriving on the coaſts of *Bretagne*, landed ſome of his men about *Conquet* and *Breſt*, who ravaged the country, and burnt ſeveral of the little towns. This roufed the *French*, who began immediately to fit out a great fleet, in order to drive, if poſſible, the *Engliſh* from their coaſts; and as this armament was very extraordinary, king *Henry* ſent a ſquadron of five and twenty tall ſhips, which he cauſed to be fitted out under his own eye, at *Plymouth*, to the aſſiſtance of the admiral [x]. Among theſe, were two capital ſhips, the one called the *Regent*, commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, maſter of the horſe to the king, and the other, which was the *Sovereign*, by Sir *Charles Brandon*, afterwards duke of *Suffolk*. When theſe veſſels had joined the admiral, his fleet conſiſted of no leſs than forty-five ſail, with which he immediately reſolved to attack the enemy, who were by this time ready to come out of the harbour of *Breſt* [y]. Authors differ much as to their number, though they agree pretty well as to the name of the admiral, whom they call *Primauget*; yet it ſeems they agree in a miſtake, for the hiſtorians of *Bretagne* aſſure us, they have no ſuch name in that province, and that undoubtedly it ought to be *Porſmoguer* [z]. Whatever his name was, or what-

[w] Pat. iv. H. 8. p. 2. [x] Goodwin, Herbert, Stowe. [y] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 313. [z] We have this from the laſt cited author, who certainly judges right, for from the Sieur Porſmoguer, our old chronicles took Sir Pierce Morgan, which is the name they have thought fit to beſtow on the French admiral, as the reader may ſee in Cooper, &c.

whatever the force of his fleet might be, which our writers ſay conſiſted of thirty-nine, and the *French* only of twenty ſail, he was certainly a very brave man. The ſhip he commanded was called the *Cordelier*, which was ſo large, as to be able to carry twelve hundred men, excluſive of mariners. At this time, there were nine hundred on board, and encouraged by their gallant officer, they did their duty bravely. Sir *Thomas Knevet* in the *Regent*, which was a much leſs ſhip, attacked and boarded them. The action laſted for ſome time, with equal vigour on both ſides; at laſt, both admirals took fire and burnt together, wherein were loſt the two commanders, and upwards of ſixteen hundred gallant men [a]. It ſeems, this accident ſtruck both fleets with amazement, ſo that they ſeparated without fighting, each claiming the victory, to which, probably, neither had a very good title [b].

In the beginning of the next *April*, the admiral put to ſea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war, beſides ſmall veſſels, and forced the *French* into the harbour of *Briſt* *; where they fortified themſelves in order to wait the arrival of a ſquadron of gallies from the *Mediterranean*. Sir *Edward Howard*, having conſidered their poſture, reſolved, ſince it was impoſſible to attack them, to burn the country round about; which he accordingly performed, in ſpite of all the care they could take to prevent it; and yet the *French* lay ſtill under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks laſhed together, which they propoſed to have ſet on fire, in caſe the *Engliſh* attempted to force them to

[a] Stowe, Speed, Herbert, Daniel, Rapin. [b] Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts. * A. D. 1512.

a battel [c]. While the admiral was thus employed, he had intelligence, that Mr. *Pregent*, with the ſix gallies from the *Mediterranean*, were arrived on the coaſt, and had taken ſhelter in the bay of *Conquet*. This accident induced him to change his meaſures, ſo that he now reſolved firſt to to deſtroy the gallies, if poſſible, and then to return to the fleet, advancing to reconnoitre *Pregent*'s ſquadron, he found them at anchor between two rocks, on each of which ſtood a ſtrong fort; and which was like to give him ſtill more trouble, they lay ſo far up in the bay, that he could bring none of his ſhips of force to engage them. The only method therefore that he could think of, was, to put the braveſt of his ſailors on board two gallies, which were in his fleet, and with theſe, to venture in, and try what might be done againſt all ſix [d]. This being reſolved on, he went himſelf, attended by Sir *Thomas Cheyne*, and Sir *John Wallop*, on board one of them, and ſent lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Sidney*, on board the other; and having a briſk gale of wind, ſailed directly into the bay, where, with his own gally, he attacked the *French* admiral. As ſoon as they were grappled, Sir *Edward Howard*, followed by ſeventeen of the braveſt of his ſailors, boarded the enemy, and were very gallantly received; but it ſo happened, that in the midſt of the engagement, the gallies ſheered aſunder, and the *French* taking that advantage, forced all the *Engliſh* upon their decks, overboard, except one ſeaman, from whom they quickly learned, that the admiral was of that number [e]. Lord *Ferrers* in the other galley, did all that was

[c] Godwin, Herbert, Holingſhed. [d] Herbert, p. 30. [e] Godwin, Stowe, Speed. Father Daniel ſays, he died of a wound received in the former engagement, which is a plain miſtake.

poſſible for a man to do; but having ſpent all his ſhot, and ſeeing, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewiſe made the beſt of his way out of the harbour [f].

We have, in a certain writer, ſome very ſingular circumſtances relating to this unlucky adventure. He ſays, that Sir *Edward Howard* having conſidered the poſture of the *French* fleet in the haven of *Breſt*, and the conſequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be preſent at ſo glorious an action, deſiring rather that the king ſhould have the honour of deſtroying the *French* naval force than himſelf. But his letter being laid before the council, they were altogether of another opinion, conceiving it was much too great a hazard to expoſe his majeſty's perſon; and therefore they wrote ſharply to the admiral, commanding him not to ſend them excuſes, but do his duty. This, as it well might, piqued him to the laſt degree; and, as it was his avowed maxim, *that a ſeaman never did good, who was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs*, ſo he took a ſudden reſolution of acting in the manner he did. Thus fell the great Sir *Edward Howard*, on the 25th of *April* 1513, a ſacrifice to his too quick ſenſe of honour in the ſervice, and yet to the detriment of his country, for his death ſo dejected the ſpirits of his ſailors, that the fleet was obliged to return home; which had he lived, would not have happened [g].

There never certainly was a braver man of his, or of any family, than this Sir *Edward Howard*; and yet we are aſſured, that he was very far from being either

[f] This was Sir Walter Devereux, knt. of the garter, anceſtor of the earls of Eſſex, and of the viſcounts of Hereford.
[g] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141.

a meer ſoldier, or a meer ſeaman, though ſo eminent in both characters; but he was what it became an *Engliſhman* of ſo high quality to be, an able ſtateſman, a faithful counſellor, and a free ſpeaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels, and yet he was againſt her quarrelling on every ſlight occaſion. He particularly diſſuaded a breach with the *Flemings*, for theſe wiſe and ſtrong reaſons: That ſuch a war was prejudicial to trade abroad; that it diminiſhed the cuſtoms, while it increaſed the public expences; that it ſerved the *French*, by conſtraining the inhabitants of *Flanders* to deal with them againſt their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourſe with thoſe by whom they were principally improved [h]. Thus qualified, we need not wonder he attained ſuch high honours, though he died in the flower of his age. *Henry* gratified his ardour with titles, and ſuch-like rewards, making him admiral and knight of the garter [i], believing that he ſhould thereby command not only the utmoſt ſervice Sir *Edward* could do, but alſo all the force and intereſt of his potent family; which, however, he ill requited, as we ſhall ſee in the next life. This Sir *Edward Howard* married *Alice*, widow to Sir *William Parker*, knt. and daughter of *William Lovell*, lord *Morley*, by whom he had no iſſue [k]. He was, as ſoon as the news of his unfortunate death reached the ears of his royal maſter, ſucceeded in his high office by his elder brother,

Sir

[h] Ibid. [i] Aſhmole's order of the garter. [k] Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 2. 17. M. S. in my poſſeſſion.

Sir THOMAS HOWARD, *afterwards earl of* Surry, *and duke of* Norfolk, *&c.*

IF we ſpoke firſt of the younger brother, it was in reſpect to his dignity, and to its date; for, though the junior ſon, he was the elder admiral; in point of merit, they were equal. *Thomas* duke of *Norfolk*, treaſurer to *Henry* VIII. and the father of both theſe brave men, ſpared not either himſelf or his ſons, when the ſervice of the crown and his country required it. In the third of this king's reign, a *Scots* ſeaman, Sir *Andrew Barton*, with two ſtout veſſels, the one named the *Lyon*, the other *Jenny Perwin*, ranged on the *Engliſh* coaſts, and interrupted all navigation. His pretence was letters of reprizal, granted him againſt the *Portugueze*, by *James* III. late king of *Scots* (whom his rebellious ſubjects murdered); and under colour of this, he tooks ſhips of all nations, alledging they had *Portugueze* goods on board [l]. On complaint of theſe grievances to the privy-council of *England*, the father of our admiral, then earl of *Surry*, ſaid, *The narrow ſeas ſhould not be ſo infeſted, while he had eſtate enough to furniſh a ſhip, or a ſon capable of commanding it* [m]. Upon this, two ſhips were immediately fitted out by the two brothers, as I conceive at their own, or at their father's expence [n]; and my reaſon for it, is, becauſe, had they gone with the king's commiſſion, they would probably have had a ſquadron: beſides, they needed no commiſſion; for pirates being *Hoſtes Humani Generis*, *Enemies to Mankind*, every

[l] Buchanan, Leſley, Drummond. [m] Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 143. [n] Columna Roſtrata, p. 49.

man is at liberty to act againſt them, and on this very principle king *Henry* juſtified this action [o]. Indeed moſt of our hiſtorians over-turn theſe arguments, by ſtiling Sir *Edward Howard* lord admiral, and ſaying, *his brother ſerved under him on this occaſion.* The latter may be true, on account of Sir *Edward*'s experience; but as to the former, it is plainly erroneous, as appears by the date of his patent in the ſucceeding year [p]. On the whole, I think it moſt likely, this was a private expedition, with the knowledge and conſent of the king, but not by his ſpecial commiſſion or immediate authority, as will quickly appear by ſtill ſtronger teſtimony.

THE lords having been ſome days at ſea, were ſeparated by a ſtorm, which gave Sir *Thomas Howard* an opportunity of coming up with Sir *Andrew Barton* in the *Lyon*, whom he immediately engaged [q]. The fight was long and doubtful; for *Barton*, who was an experienced ſeaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a deſperate defence, himſelf chearing them with a boatſwain's whiſtle to his laſt breath. The loſs of their captain, was the only thing that could induce them to ſubmit, which at laſt they did, and were received to quarter and fair uſage [r]. In the mean time, Sir *Edward* fought, and took the conſort of the *Lyon*, which was likewiſe a ſtrong veſſel, and exceedingly well manned. Both theſe ſhips, with as many men as were left alive, being in number one hundred and fifty, they brought the ſecond of *Auguſt* 1511, into the river of *Thames*, as trophies of their victory. The men were ſent to the archbiſhop of *York*'s palace,

[o] See his anſwer to the Scotch king's remonſtrances. [p] 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2. [q] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 16. [r] Stowe's Annals, p. 489.

lace, now called *Whitehall*, where for ſome time they remained priſoners, but afterwards were diſmiſſed, and ſent into *Scotland* [s]. King *James* IV. who then governed the *Scots*, exceedingly reſented this action, and inſtantly ſent ambaſſadors to *Henry*, to demand ſatisfaction; on which the king gave this memorable anſwer, *That puniſhing Pirates, was never held a Breach of Peace among Princes* [t]. King *James*, however, remained ſtill diſſatisfied, and from that time, to his unfortunate death, was never throughly reconciled to the king or *Engliſh* nation. I reſerved this remarkable event for the life of Sir *Thomas*, becauſe Sir *Andrew Barton* became his prize, and I thought it by no means proper to repeat the ſtory in both lives: as to Sir *Edward*'s being made admiral in preference to his elder brother, it muſt have ariſen from his greater acquaintance with naval affairs, or from the families deſiring to have the eldeſt ſon always at hand to aſſiſt his father, who beſides his many high employments of lord-treaſurer, earl-marſhal, and lieutenant of the north, had the jealouſy of the potent cardinal *Wolſey* to deal with [u].

SIR *Thomas Howard* accompanied the marquiſs of *Dorſet* in his expedition againſt *Guyenne*, which ended in king *Ferdinand*'s conquering *Navarre*; and the commander in chief falling ſick, Sir *Thomas* ſucceeded him, and managed with great prudence, in bringing home the remains of the *Engliſh* army [v]. He was ſcarce returned, before the ill news arrived of his brother the lord admiral's death, whereupon the king inſtantly appointed him his ſucceſſor. Sir *Thomas* returned his maſter ſincere thanks, as well for this mark

[s] Cooper's Chronicle, Holingſhed, &c. [t] Herbert. [u] Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 141. Strype's memorials, Burnet. [v] Herbert, p. 20, 24.

mark of his confidence, as for affording him an opportunity of revenging his brother's death. The *French* ſhips were at that time hovering over the *Engliſh* coaſts, but Sir *Thomas* quickly ſcoured the ſeas, ſo that not a bark of that nation durſt appear; and on the firſt of *July* 1513, landing in *Whitſand-Bay*, he pillaged the country adjacent, and burnt a conſiderable town [z]. The king was then engaged in *Picardy*, having the emperor in his ſervice; and this induced *James* IV. to invade *England* with a mighty army, ſuppoſing he ſhould find it in a manner defenceleſs. But *Thomas* earl of *Surry*, quickly convinced him of his miſtake, marching towards him with a powerful army, which ſtrengthened as it moved. Sir *Thomas Howard* returning on the news of this invaſion, landed five thouſand *Veterans*, and made haſte to join his father. The earl of *Surry*, ſending a herald to bid the *Scots* king battle, the lord admiral ſent him word at the ſame time, that he was come in perſon to anſwer for the death of Sir *Andrew Barton*, which evidently ſhews, how far that was a perſonal affair. This defiance produced the famous battle of *Flodden-Field*, which was fought the eighth of *September* 1513, wherein Sir *Thomas Howard* commanded the van-guard, and by his courage and conduct, contributed not a little to that glorious victory, in which king *James* fell, with the flower of his army, though not without the ſlaughter of abundance of *Engliſh* [y]. King *Henry* thought himſelf ſo much obliged at that time, to the *Howards*, for this and other ſervices, that at a parliament held the next year, he reſtored *Thomas* earl of *Surry* to the title of *Norfolk* *, and created the lord admiral earl of *Surry*, who took his ſeat in

[z] Cooper, Stowe, Speed, Herbert, Rapin. [y] Stowe's Annals, p. 492, 493, 494. Herbert, p. 44. * A. D. 1514.

in the houſe of peers, not as a duke's ſon, but according to his creation [a]. Theſe favours were from the king; for as to the cardinal miniſter, he made the duke of *Norfolk* ſo uneaſy, as high treaſurer, that in the courſe of ſome few years, he was glad to reſign that high charge to his ſon.

THE war being ended with *France*, the admiral's martial talent lay ſome time unemployed; but certain diſturbances in *Ireland* calling for redreſs, the active earl of *Surry*, was ſent thither with a commiſſion, as lord-deputy †, where he ſuppreſſed *Deſmond*'s rebellion, humbled the *O'Neals* and *O'Carrols*, and without affecting ſeverity or popularity, brought all things into good order, leaving, when he quitted the iſland, peace and a parliament behind him ‡; and carrying with him the affections of the people, though he performed not all he intended, the cardinal grudging the honour he had already acquired, and reſolving to hinder, at all events, his gaining more [a]. The pretence for recalling him, was the breaking out again of a *French* war. Before it was declared, the *French* ſhips of war interrupted (according to cuſtom) the *Engliſh* trade; ſo that we ſuffered as their enemies, while their ambaſſadors here treated us as friends. The lord admiral, on his arrival, remedied this inconvenience; he immediately fitted out a ſmall ſquadron of clean ſhips, under a vigilant commander, who ſoon drove the *French* Privateers from their beloved occupation, thieving, to their old trade of ſtarving [b]. In the ſpring, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, as vice-admiral, put to ſea, with a fleet of twenty-eight men of war to guard the narrow

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[a] Pat. v. Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 11. Journal of Parliament eod. Anno. † A. D. 1519 ‡ A. D. 1521. [a] Herbert, p. 109, 123, Stowe, Burnet. [b] Cooper, Stowe, Speed.

row ſeas *, and it being apprehended, that the *Scotch* might add to the number of the king's enemies by ſea, as well as land, a ſmall ſquadron of ſeven frigates ſailed up the Frith of *Forth*, and burned all ſuch veſſels as lay there, and were in a condition of going to ſea [c]. In the mean time, the admiral prepared a royal navy, with which that of the emperor *Charles* V. was to join; and as it was evident, that many inconveniences might ariſe, from the fleets having ſeveral commanders in chief, the earl of *Surry*, by ſpecial commiſſion from *Henry* VIII. received the emperor's commiſſion, to be admiral alſo of his navy, which conſiſted of one hundred and eighty tall ſhips. This commiſſion is dated at *London*, *June* the eighth, 1522, in the third year of his reign over the *Romans*, and ſeventh over the reſt of his dominions, and is very ample [d].

WITH the united fleets, the admiral ſailed over to the coaſt of *Normandy*, and landing ſome forces near *Cherburgh* †, waſted and deſtroyed the country; after which they returned. This ſeems to have been a feint, for in a few days, the admiral landed again on the coaſt of *Bretagne*, a very large body of troops, with which he took and plundered the town of *Morlaix* ‡, and having gained an immenſe booty, and opened a paſſage for the *Engliſh* forces into *Champaign* and *Picardy* [e], he firſt detached Sir *William Fitz-Williams* with a ſtrong ſquadron to ſcour the ſeas, and to protect the merchants, and then returned to *Southampton*, where the emperor embarked on board his ſhip, and was ſafely convoyed to the port of St. *Andero* in *Biſcay* [f]. In the fourteenth of king *Henry*'s reign, the good old

* A. D. 1522. [c] Stowe's Annals, p. 515. [d] Mr. Lediard has inſerted it in his Naval Hiſtory. † June 13, 1522. ‡ July 1. [e] Cooper, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. [f] Ibid.

old duke, his father, being quite tired out with cares, resigned his high office of lord treasurer, and the king thereupon, conferred it on his son the earl of *Surry* [g]. He was also intrusted by the king, with the army raised to invade *Scotland*, and in the station of general, did good service against the duke of *Albany*, whereby all the deep designs of the *French* were frustrated. On the death of his father, he was again appointed to command an army against the *Scots*, in which affair, he acquitted himself with as much honour, justice and bravery, as any man ever did [h]. He afterwards attended the king into *France*, and was sent principal ambassador to the *French* king, at such time as that monarch was proceeding to an interview with the pope [i]. In the twenty-eighth of king *Henry*, he assisted the earl of *Shrewsbury* in suppressing a formidable rebellion, cover'd with the specious title of the *Pilgrimage* of *Grace*, and throughout his whole life, approved himself an honest and active servant to the crown, in all capacities. Yet in the close of his reign, the king was wrought into a persuasion, that this duke of *Norfolk*, and his son *Henry* earl of *Surry*, were in a plot, to seize upon his person, and to engross the government into their own hands; with many other things devised by their enemies, but altogether destitute of proof. For these supposed crimes, he and his son were imprisoned, and as was but too frequent in that reign, attainted almost on suspicion [k]. *Henry* earl of *Surry*, the most accomplished nobleman of his time, lost his head

[g] Pat. 14. H. VIII. p. 1. [h] Buchanan, Drummond, Stowe, Herbert, Rapin. [i] Mezeray, Daniel. [k] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 565. His misfortunes were owing chiefly to the resentment of his duchess, the daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham, and the falshood of his female favourite, the former accusing, and the latter betraying him.

head in his father's preſence; nor would the duke have ſurvived him long (a warrant being once granted for his execution) if the king had not died at that critical juncture, and thereby opened a door of hope and liberty. After all theſe ſufferings, he ſurvived king *Edward* VI. and died in the firſt year of queen *Mary*, when his attainder was repealed, and the act thereof taken from amongſt the records [l] *. He was unqueſtionably as able an admiral, as great a ſtateſmen, as fortunate a general, and as true a patriot as any in that age: but it is now time to come to his ſucceſſor in the command of the navy.

Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, *afterwards Earl of* Southampton, *and Knight of the* Garter.

HE was deſcended, not only of an ancient and honourable, but alſo of a famous and noble family, his anceſtors having been ſummoned to parliament as barons, to the time of *Edward* III. Sir *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, the father of our admiral, married *Lucia*, daughter and co-heir to *John Nevil* marquis *Montacute*, by whom he had two ſons, *Thomas*, who was ſlain at the battle of *Flodden-Field*, and this *William* [m]. Being the younger ſon, he, from his nonage, addicted himſelf to arms, and particularly to the ſea-ſervice, which in thoſe days became a diſtinct and regular profeſſion, king *Henry* having a navy-office, commiſſioners, *&c.* which his predeceſſors had not.

He

[l] See the act of repeal 1mo. Mariæ, and the character of both the duke and his ſon, in Sir Walter Raleigh's preface to the hiſtory of the world. * A. D. 1554. [m] From the collections of R. Glover, Somerſet.

He alſo fixed regular ſalaries for his admirals, vice-admirals, captains and ſeamans, ſo that under him, naval affairs underwent a very great change, and we have had a conſtant ſeries of officers in the royal-navy ever ſince. How ſoon Mr. *Fitz-Williams* went to ſea, does not appear from any memoirs now extant; but moſt certainly it was in the reign of *Henry* VII. for in the ſecond of *Henry* VIII. he as appointed one of the eſquires of the king's body. In 1513, he had a command in the fleet, which fought the *French* off *Breſt*, and behaving very bravely there, received a dangerous wound in the breaſt by a broad arrow. This did not hinder his being preſent at the ſiege of *Tournay* the ſame year, where diſtinguiſhing himſelf in an extraordinary manner, in the ſight of his prince, he was honoured with knighthood [a], and thenceforward conſtantly employed at ſea, where he made himſelf equally uſeful to his prince, and grateful to the ſeamen. Of theſe we are aſſured, he knew and called every one by name, never taking prize, but what he ſhared amongſt them, or ſuffering more than two months to elapſe, before they were fully paid their wages. The merchants were remarkably friends to him, on account of his conſtant attention to their concerns, and the king highly eſteemed him for the punctuality with which he executed his orders, and his wonderful expedition in whatever he undertook.

He executed the office of vice-admiral, during the abſence of the earl of *Surry*, then lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in 1520, and convoyed the king, when he paſſed over to *France*, in order to an interview with *Francis* I. And two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that prince,

[a] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 334.

prince, Sir *William*, with a good fleet, was ſent to protect our trade, and to moleſt the enemy, which he did effectually, but was not quite ſo ſucceſsful in 1523, when he had orders to prevent the duke of *Albany* from paſſing with *French* ſuccours into *Scotland:* for though he once diſperſed the duke's fleet, and actually took ſome of his ſhips, with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction on board, yet that cunning prince eſcaped him, with the reſt, by this artifice. He pretended to abandon his enterprize, re-landed his forces, and ordered the ſhips to be laid up: but as ſoon as he underſtood the *Engliſh* admiral was returned to his own coaſts, he inſtantly re-imbarked his troops, and continuing his voyage, notwithſtanding it was the winter ſeaſon, arrived ſafely in his own country [o]. In the 16th of *Henry* VIII. we find Sir *William* preferred to be captain of *Guines* caſtle in *Picardy:* in the next year, he was ſent ambaſſador into *France*, and executed his commiſſion with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was from that time more and more in the king's favour [p]. After the fall of cardinal *Wolſey*, to whom our admiral was no great friend, we find him an active man in parliament, and made uſe of by the king, to excuſe biſhop *Fiſher* to the houſe of commons [q]. In the 27th of the ſame reign, he was again employed in an embaſſy to *France*, and in the ſucceeding year, being already treaſurer of the houſhold, chancellor of the dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and knight of the garter, the king, by letters patents, raiſed him to the dignity of admiral of *England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gaſcoine*, and *Aquitaine* [r], and by other letters patent, ſoon after created him earl of *Southampton*; all

[o] Drummond of Hawthorden, in the life of James V. [p] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [q] Burnet, Herbert, Rapin. [r] Pat. 24. H. viii. p. 2.

all which he is ſaid to have merited by his ſteady loyalty, and by his great ſkill and indefatigable application in maritime affairs, to which, he, from his youth, had been addicted [s].

SHORTLY after, the king raiſed him ſtill higher, to the poſt of lord privy ſeal, in which quality we find that, with *John* lord *Ruſſel*, who ſucceeded him as high admiral, he paſſed over into *France*, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horſe, which ſhews his martial ſpirit, and how loth he was to quit the ſervice of his country in a military way [t]. It ſeems, his conſtitution was by this time much broken through continual fatigues, and therefore he made a will, whereby, among other legacies, he bequeathed the king his maſter, his beſt collar of the garter, and his rich *George* ſet with diamonds [u]. Yet on the breaking out of a war with *Scotland*, to which his friend and commander, *Thomas* duke of *Norfolk*, was immediately ordered with a numerous army, our brave captain would not remain behind, but with a briſk body of horſe and foot, lead the van: yet this proved the laſt flaſhings of his heroic flame, ſince, at *Newcaſtle*, overcome by his diſeaſe, and with fatigue, he breathed his laſt, to the great regret of his royal maſter, as well as of his general, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the reſt of the expedition, as a mark of the reſpect due to his memory [w]. By his counteſs, *Mabel* daughter to *Henry* lord *Clifford*, he had no iſſue to inherit his virtues, or his honours; but he left behind him a natural ſon, *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, alias

[s] M. S. Collections of Sir Thomas Wriothesley. [t] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 484. [u] Spelt. qu. 16. [w] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 483.

Fiſher [x]. As to his age, at the time of his deceaſe, we find no note thereof, either in books or in records; but it is probable, that he did not exceed ſixty, according to the courſe of his preferments. He ſeems to have been one of the firſt ſeamen raiſed to the honour of the peerage in this kingdom.

As to the remaining admirals in king *Henry*'s reign, they were *John* lord *Ruſſel*, and the viſcount *Liſle*, ſo well known to poſterity, by the title of duke of *Northumberland*, as the ſupreme director of all things in the reign of *Edward* VI. and as a fatal example of the iſſue of boundleſs ambition, in the beginning of the ſucceeding reign. But the reader will find ſuch ample accounts of them elſewhere [y], and their naval atchievements contain ſo little worthy of notice, that I rather proceed to the tranſactions under the next king, than detain my readers with a jejune detail of things of little conſequence, eſpecially, conſidering the narrow bounds into which we are to bring ſuch an infinite variety of important matter.

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[x] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 105.

[y] In Dugdale, Collins, and other peerages of England, as well as the in the general hiſtories, and particular memoirs of theſe reigns, and in Strype's and other collections of original papers relating to thoſe times.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, *under the reign of* Edward VI. *with an account of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in his time.*

THIS young prince, at the deceaſe of his father, was but in the tenth year of his age; however, on the 20th of *February* following †, he was crowned, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the nation, who were in hopes a gentler government would ſucceed, under the rule of ſo young a prince, aſſiſted by miniſters whoſe chief, indeed, whoſe only ſupport, muſt be the affections of the people [a]. The ſcheme of government, laid down by the will of king *Henry* VIII. was held to be impracticable, becauſe it made ſuch a diviſion of power, as rendered the adminiſtration of public affairs extremely difficult, if not impoſſible; and therefore to remedy theſe inconveniencies, the earl of *Hertford*, uncle to the young king, created ſoon after duke of *Somerſet*, was declared protector, or chief governor, that the nation might have ſome viſible head: after which followed various promotions; amongſt the reſt, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the protector's brother, was created baron of *Sudley*,

† A. D. 1546. [a] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Godwin, Hayward, Burnet, Rapin.

ley, and raiſed to the great truſt of lord high-admiral [b]. One would have thought, that, in the dawn of ſuch a government, peace had been more adviſable than war: but we find, the great counſellors in thoſe days, thought otherwiſe; for one of the firſt things they reſolved on, was war with *Scotland*, to which, probably, they might be provoked by the paſſage of a ſtrong ſquadron of *French* gallies through the narrow ſeas, which were going to block up the caſtle of St. *Andrews* [c]; and to which they were certainly encouraged by the diſtracted ſtate of the *Scotch* affairs, the government being weakened by a minority, and the nation divided and diſtracted by factions [d].

THE preparations made by the protector for his expedition into *Scotland*, looked as if he intended rather an abſolute conqueſt of that country, than to compel the marriage of *Mary* queen of *Scots* to the young king *Edward* [e]. Both the brothers took a ſhare in this expedition; the protector commanded in perſon the land-army, which conſiſted of ten thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a fine train of artillery; it being allowed to be, in all reſpects, the beſt equipped force that for many years had been ſet on foot in this kingdom [f]. With this alſo the fleet fitted out by his brother's care correſponded, conſiſting in all of ſixty-five ſail, of which thirty-five were ſhips of force, the reſt were ſtore-ſhips and tenders; the whole commanded by the lord *Clinton*, as admiral of the north-ſea, and Sir *William Woodhouſe*, as vice-admiral, which arrived before *Leith*, about the time the *Engliſh* army penetrated

[b] Life of King Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward, p. 14. et ſequen. Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, Strype's memorials.
[c] Cooper's Chronicle, Buchanan, Stowe. [d] Keith's hiſtory of the church and ſtate of Scotland, p. 52. [e] Hayward, Godwin, Rapin. [f] Godwin, p. 214.

trated *Scotland* by land [g]. The protector, who was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to have prevented bloodſhed, by ſending very amicable letters to the *Scotch* governors, wherein he ſhewed how much it would be for the intereſt of both nations, that this match ſhould take place, and how little it was for the good of *Scotland* to remain in that dependency on *France*, in which ſhe had continued for a long tract of time. The governor, or protector of *Scotland*, who was entirely in the *French* intereſt, ſhewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who adviſed him, ſince he had a very numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to liſten to any conditions of peace, but to force the *Engliſh* to a battle; which very bad advice he complied with, and told the reſt of the lords about him, that the protector's letter contained only threatnings and reproaches [h]. This ſtrange conduct brought on a deciſive engagement, on the 10th of *September*, 1547; which, in the *Engliſh* hiſtories, is ſtiled the battle of *Muſſelburgh* [i]; but the *Scots* writers call it the battle of *Pinky* [k]. It was fatal to the *Scots*, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in numbers, their army conſiſting of upwards of thirty thouſand men; but they were ſo eager to fight, that they deſpiſed all the precautions uſually taken, as to ground, and other circumſtances; nay, they were ſo fool-hardy, as to expoſe themſelves to the fire of the *Engliſh* fleet, which galled them extremely, and therefore we need not wonder that they were totally defeated, leaving fourteen thouſand dead on the place, and eight hundred noblemen and gentle-

[g] Keith's hiſtory, p. 53. [h] Ibid. [i] Cooper, Stowe, Speed. [k] Buchanan, Leſley, Keith.

men priſoners; after which victory, the protector burnt *Edinburgh*, and ſo returned in triumph [l].

THE lord *Clinton*, with his fleet, continued longer in thoſe parts, with a deſign, as it appeared, to extirpate entirely the naval force of the *Scots*. He had before, in the reign of *Henry* VIII. been employed for the ſame purpoſe, and had executed his commiſſion with great diligence, carrying off the *Salamander*, and the *Unicorn*, two very fine ſhips, and all other veſſels that were worth taking [m]. He now perfected this ſcheme of deſtroying, by burning all the ſea-ports, with the ſmall craft that lay in their harbours, and ſearching every creek, and all the mouths of rivers, with ſuch diligence, that, it is ſaid, he did not leave one ſhip of force or burthen in all that kingdom [n]. In 1548, the lord high admiral, with a very ſtout fleet, ſailed hence upon the *Scotch* coaſts, to prevent their repairing their harbours, and to do what further miſchief he was able: but he was leſs ſucceſsful; for though he made two deſcents with conſiderable forces, yet he was repulſed in both [o]. The great hardſhips of the people had made them deſperate, ſo that, notwithſtanding the vaſt expence *England* had been at, and the compleat victory the protector had gained, the *Scotiſh* queen being eſcaped into *France*, and great ſuccours coming from thence into *Scotland*, the *Engliſh* were obliged after two years to make peace, both nations having ſuffered exceedingly by the war, which proved, however, advantageous enough to *France*, who made her uſes of each, and performed her agreements with neither [p].

THE

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[l] Hayward, Godwin, Burnet. [m] Stowe's Annals, p. 586, 587. [n] Hayward, Godwin, Keith. [o] Hayward. [p] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

THE unnatural quarrel between the protector and his brother the lord high admiral, was the chief cauſe of the nation's misfortunes; for while they endeavoured with all their force to deſtroy each other, public affairs were neglected, thoſe who might have prevented theſe diſorders ſtudying rather to increaſe them, with a view to ruin both [q]. What the crimes of the admiral really were, moſt of our hiſtorians ſeem to think very uncertain; we only know that he was charged with a deſign of ſeizing the king's perſon, of marrying the princeſs *Elizabeth*, and forming thereby ſome title to the crown. On this accuſation, whether well or ill founded, he was attainted without a trial by act of parliament [r]. A proceeding altogether inexcuſable; becauſe thereby poſterity ſtand deprived of ſeeing the evidence on which public juſtice is ſaid to be founded. The protector ſet an edge on the ſentence paſſed by this law, by prevailing on the young king to ſign a warrant for the admiral's execution, though his majeſty's uncle, and the protector's own brother *; and this we are told he did to gratify his wife [s]. The truth ſeems to be, that the lord protector *Somerſet* was an honeſt, but weak man, meant well, yet ſeldom knew his own meaning, and was therefore governed in moſt caſes by other people's counſels; whereas the admiral is allowed to have had quick parts, great courage, and a much better capacity for governing: but his turbulent ſpirit gave the common enemies of his family, and the nation's quiet, an opportunity of detaching him from his brother's intereſt, and

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[q] Hayward, p. 81. Godwin, p. 226. [r] Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 368. * March 20, 1549. [s] Hayward, p. 81.

thereby creating thoſe misfortunes which were not only fatal to him and the protector, but to the kingdom alſo [t].

THE *French*, who were now governed by *Henry* II. a young enterprizing prince, laid hold of this opportunity, while the *Engliſh* were engaged in a *Scotch* war, and divided by civil diſſentions, to deprive them of the few but important places they ſtill held in *France*. To colour their proceedings, they ſet up the following pretence, (for when were the *French* known to want one?) That *Boulogne* was not abſolutely yielded to king *Henry* VIII. but conditionally only, by way of mortgage for a certain ſum of money, which they ſaid had been tendered him more than once, by their late king *Francis* I. and conſequently they had an equity of redemption, which they thought might juſtify them in any meaſures that ſhould appear neceſſary for the making themſelves maſters of the place. In ſaying this, I am not governed by *Engliſh* prejudices, but follow the accounts given by their beſt hiſtorians, and who relate the ſequel of the matter thus. The *French* king, under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his public entry into *Paris*, and the queen's coronation, drew a conſiderable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into *Picardy*; then departing ſuddenly from his capital, he came to *Abbeville*, where his forces rendezvouſed, and marched from thence with all expedition to *Boulogne*, where he attacked and carried ſome of the forts, and diſtreſſed the place ſo much, that it was found impracticable to keep it [u]. Our writers ſay, that theſe forts were taken by treachery, and it appears

[t] Stowe, Burnet, Rapin, and in general all our hiſtorians who write without bias. [u] J. de Serres, p. 701. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 657. Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 20.

pears by the repreſentations made in king *Edward*'s name to the emperor, that the whole of this tranſaction was contrary to the law of nations, there being at the time it happened, no war declared [w]. Another attempt the *French* likewiſe made upon the iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, which they invaded with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, and two thouſand land-forces. The *Engliſh* court having notice of this attempt, and knowing thoſe iſlands to be but indiffently provided, ſent thither a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of commodore *Winter*, with eight hundred men as a reinforcement on board a few tranſports. At his arrival he found the ports blocked up, and himſelf under a neceſſity either of deſiſting from his enterprize, or attacking the *French*, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority. He, like a brave man, choſe the latter, and executed this deſign with ſuch courage and conduct, that having killed them near a thouſand men, he obliged the enemy to embark the reſt on board ſome light veſſels in which they fled, abandoning their ſhips of force, and all theſe he cauſed to be ſet on fire. This defeat ſo nettled that vain nation, that, our writers ſay, they forbad the ſpeaking of it with all its particulars, under pain of death, for which report one would imagine there muſt have been ſome foundation, ſince we find no traces of this ſtory in any of their writers [x]. The misfortunes attending the *Engliſh* by taking the forts about *Boulogne*, having ſerved the purpoſe of the duke of *Somerſet*'s enemies, in fixing a grievous charge upon him, for which he was ſent to the *Tower*, and outed of his protectorſhip, they

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[w] See the inſtructions ſent to Sir Philip Hoby by the duke of Somerſet, Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 164.

[x] Cooper, Stowe, Speed, Hayward, Godwin.

they then thought proper to make a treaty with *France*, whereby the town of *Boulogne* and its dependancies, were ſold for four hundred thouſand crowns, and the *French* took poſſeſſion of them in the ſpring of the year 1550 [y]. In this treaty the *Scots* were included, and for the managing thereof, *Edward* lord *Clinton*, who had been governor of the territory, now yielded to *France*, was made lord high admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands from the king [z].

It is not to be wondered, that a treaty ſo far from being honourable to the nation, was very ill received at home, and yet it muſt be acknowledged, that it was not near ſo inexcuſable as ſome would repreſent it. We have already ſhewn, with what injuſtice the *French* made war upon king *Edward*, and it is but reaſonable to add, that when his embaſſador applied to the emperor for aſſiſtance, and repreſented the great things that his father had done for the houſe of *Auſtria*, the pains he had taken to ſollicit the electors to ſet the imperial crown on the head of *Charles* V. and how much the *Engliſh* nation had been impoveriſhed by the wars againſt *France*, purely on his behalf, a very rude and uncourteous anſwer was given. The emperor took notice of the great change that had been made in religion, which he pretended put it out of his power to yield the aid that was deſired, and therefore inſiſted, that as the price of his friendſhip, all things ſhould be reſtored again to their former ſtate. After this, when matters were come to extremity, it was propoſed

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y Du Tillet recueil de traité & Leonard. Traites, tom. ii. Mezeray. z Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 230. Keith's hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, vol. i. p. 66. Hayward, Burnet, Rapin.

propoſed on the part of king *Edward*, that the emperor ſhould take the town of *Boulogne* into his hands, to remain as a depoſite till the king was of age; but that was likewiſe rejected, unleſs the old religion was reſtored. We may from hence perceive, the integrity of thoſe miniſters who choſe rather to ſacrifice their intereſts with the nation, then injure the proteſtant religion, and at the ſame time we may diſcern, how little the friendſhip of foreign and of popiſh powers is to be depended upon, when the intereſts of *England* alone are at ſtake.

AFTER this peace there grew a cloſer and more conſiderable intercourſe between the *French* and *Engliſh* courts, which gave ſuch offence to the emperor, that he ſuffered his ſubjects in *Flanders* to cruize in the *Engliſh* ſeas, which afforded the *French* a pretence for acting in the ſame manner; but upon complaint that the navigation of the narrow ſeas was exceedingly diſturbed, the king ordered lord *Henry Dudley*, with four men of war and two light ſhips, to put to ſea, in order to protect our merchants; which, however, he performed but indifferently [a]. In 1551, the lord admiral *Clinton* went over into *France* as the king's embaſſador, and there concluded a treaty for the marriage of his maſter to the princeſs *Elizabeth*, daughter of that king; though it is highly probable, the *French* were not very ſincere in theſe negotiations. Some time after, they began to raiſe jealouſies in *England* of the emperor's proceedings, becauſe he had fitted out a great fleet, without aſſigning any particular cauſe for it [b]. But the next year things took a new turn; for the *French* continuing

[a] See king Edward's diary, March 26, 1552. [b] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 289, 290.

nuing their pyratical practices under one pretence or other, ſeized many *Engliſh* ſhips, ſo that loud complaints were made to the king; and upon examination it appeared, that the merchants had ſuffered by their depredations in the ſpace of twenty months, to the full amount of fifty thouſand pounds. Upon this, his miniſters at the court of *France* had orders to make very ſharp repreſentations, which they did, but with little effect [c]; ſo that things remained pretty much in this ſituation, that is, tending to a rupture, to the time of the king's death, which happened on the 6th of *July* 1553; but whether by poiſon, as ſome have pretended, or by a conſumption, as is generally thought, I pretend not to determine [d]. He had then reigned near ſix years and a half, and was not quite ſixteen. He was certainly, for his years, a very accompliſhed prince, of which he has left us many and thoſe unqueſtionable proofs in his writings.

As to his care of trade, we have as many inſtances of it in every kind as can be deſired. In 1548, he paſſed an act for laying the *Newfoundland* trade entirely open, and for removing various obſtacles, by which it had been hitherto cramped [e]. The very ſame year the merchants at *Antwerp* complaining of certain hardſhips under which they ſuffered, the king's ambaſſadors interpoſed; and when the regency of that city ſuggeſted to them, that it was ſtrange the king of *England* ſhould more regard a company of merchants, than the friendſhip of a great emperor, king *Edward*'s agent, whoſe name was *Smith*, anſwered roundly, that his maſter would ſupport the commerce

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[c] Ibid. p. 332.

[d] Hayward, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Strype, Burnet, Rapin.

[e] See Hakluyt, p. iii. p. 131.

merce of his ſubjects, at the hazard of any monarch's friendſhip upon earth [f].

We have a very curious and particular account of the advantages derived to the city of *Antwerp* from the reſidence of the *Engliſh* merchants there, which, for the readers inſtruction as well as entertainment, we will inſert from a very ſcarce and curious piece, addreſſed to Sir *Robert Cecil* then ſecretary of ſtate to queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards earl of *Saliſbury*, and lord high treaſurer of *England*.

"*PHILIP* ſurnamed the *Good*, duke of *Burgundy* "and of *Brabant*, &c. gave privileges to the *Engliſh* "nation in the low countries, which happened in the "year 1466, which privileges the town of *Antwerp* con- "firmed the 6th of *Auguſt* in the ſame year, giving to "them beſides a large houſe, which is now called the *old* "*Burſe*, and afterwards by exchange, another more good- "ly, ſpacious and ſumptuous houſe, called the *Court of* "*Lier*, which the company enjoyed till the ſaid town "was yielded up to the duke of *Parma* in the year "1585. At the aboveſaid firſt concordate and concluſion "of privileges with the town of *Antwerp* or not long be- "fore, there were not in all the town above four mer- "chants, and thoſe alſo no adventurers to the ſea; the "reſt of the inhabitants or townſmen were but mean "people, and neither able nor ſkilful to uſe the feat or "trade of merchandiſe, but did let out the beſt of their "houſes to *Engliſhmen* and other ſtrangers, for chambers "and pack-houſes, contenting themſelves with ſome cor- "ner for their profits ſake; but within theſe late years, the concourſe

[f] Stype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 151.

"concourſe and reſort of foreign merchants to that town "was ſo great, that houſe room waxed ſcant, rents were "raiſed, tolls, exciſes, and all other duties to the prince "and town wonderfully encreaſed; and the *Antwerp* men "themſelves, who in few years before were but mean ar-"tificers, or lived by huſbandry and keeping of cattle, "whereof one gate of that city to this day beareth the "name, and had but ſix ſhips belonging to their town, "and thoſe for the river only, that never went to ſea, "began to grow exceeding rich; ſo that ſome fell to the "trade of merchandize, and others employed their ſub-"ſtance in building. Then their old rotten houſes covered "with thatch were pulled down, their waſte ground, "whereof there was ſtore within the town, was turned "into goodly buildings, and fair ſtreets, and their ſhip-"ping encreaſed accordingly; thus proſpered not only "thoſe of *Antwerp*, but all other towns and places there-"abouts, ſo that in our memory that now live, the ſaid "town was grown to ſuch wealth, ſtrength and beauty, "as never none the like in ſo ſhort a time, and no mar-"vel; for within the compaſs of fifty years, an houſe "that was worth but forty dollars a year, grew to be "worth three hundred dollars a year, and an houſe that "was let out for ſixty dollars, came afterwards to be let "for four hundred dollars; yea, ſome houſes in *Antwerp* "were let for ſix hundred, ſome for eight hundred dol-"lars a year rent, beſides their havens for ſhips to come "and lade and diſcharge within the town; their public "ſtately buildings and edifices, erected partly for orna-"ment, and partly for the eaſe and accomodating of the "merchant were ſo coſtly and ſumptuous, as he that "hath not ſeen and marked them well would not believe "it."

THIS

THIS ſhews abundantly how great a right king *Edward* had to inſiſt upon all his ſubjects privileges in that city, where their reſidence was a thing of ſuch prodigious conſequence. We muſt not imagine, however, that ſo wiſe a prince as the emperor *Charles* V. was not very well acquainted with this, of which we have an inſtance within the compaſs of king *Edward*'s reign, *Anno Dom.* 1550, for when after all the ſupplications of the citizens of *Antwerp*, and the interceſſion of ſeveral great princes on their behalf, he remained fixed in his purpoſe of introducing the inquiſition into that city; yet upon the bare mention that this would infallibly drive the *Engliſh* not only out of *Antwerp*, but out of the low countries, he very prudently deſiſted.

WITH like care the king proſecuted the wrongs done to his trading ſubjects by the *French*, and very graciouſly received a memorial, wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and encreaſing the number of ſeamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade here in foreign bottoms [a]. Some notice there are of other projects of a like nature in his own diary, which ſhew, that if he had lived to have had a ſufficient experience, he would have been extremely careful of maritime affairs, and very ready to have contributed to the eaſe and advantage of his ſubjects [b]. But the diſorders which happened in his ſhort reign, as well as his immature death, prevented his doing the good which he intended.

WE muſt aſcribe to thoſe diſorders, and to the boundleſs ambition of that great duke, who taking advantage of the

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[a] Barnaby's information to ſecretary Cecil, MS. [b] See the king's diary publiſhed by Burnet.

the king's minority, directed all things with almoſt abſolute ſway, that ſuch heavy taxes were laid upon the people, who were far from being in a condition to bear them, that lands to ſo great a value were taken from the church to the uſe as was pretended to the crown, and then granted away to favourites, and above all, that the very worſt part of his father's politics ſhould be purſued, and the coin ſtill more and more debaſed; for in the third year of his reign, under pretence of redreſſing this evil, there was a new ſtandard introduced, ſomewhat better in appearance than the laſt coinage in his father's reign, for now inſtead of four ounces, there were ſix ounces of fine ſilver in each pound of metal; but then the number of pieces was increaſed from forty-eight to ſeventy-two, and conſequently the nominal value of ſilver was raiſed from four ſhillings to ſix ſhillings an ounce; but in reality, continued at the ſame rate as before, that is at twelve ſhillings an ounce, which was incredibly grievous to the people; yet two years afterwards this method was changed, and the finiſhing ſtroke given to all practices of this nature, by coining the ſame number of ſhillings, that is, ſeventy-two out of a pound of metal, in which there was but three ounces of ſilver; ſo that while the nominal value remained the ſame, and thoſe who knew no better, believed that ſilver was ſtill at ſix ſhillings an ounce, it was in fact ſo long as the money of this coinage remained current at twenty-four ſhillings an ounce; yet one advantage followed from thence, which was, that the groſsneſs of the impoſition made it quickly diſcernable, and therefore the next years money was coined pretty near the old ſtandard, before it had been practiſed upon by his father; but then there were ſixty ſhillings in the pound weight, which brought the price of ſilver to five ſhillings

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an ounce, and this began that emendation of our coin, which was compleated under queen *Elizabeth*, by the advice of the ſame miniſter, who procured this laſt alteration in the time of king *Edward*.

In his reign the *Levant* trade grew more extenſive [j], and that to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and other parts of *Africa* was firſt diſcovered, and proſecuted with ſucceſs, by Mr. *Thomas Wyndham* [k]. We may add to theſe proofs of the flouriſhing of naval power under this young prince, the attempt made for diſcovering a north-eaſt paſſage [l]; which will lead us to ſpeak of the moſt accompliſhed ſeaman who lived in his time, and whoſe memory deſerves for his induſtry, penetration, and integrity to be tranſmitted to poſterity, I mean the celebrated and juſtly famous,

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THIS gentleman was the ſon of that eminent *Venetian* pilot Sir *John Cabot*, of whom we have given ſome account heretofore. He was born at *Briſtol* about the year 1477, and therefore Mr. *Strype* is miſtaken, when he tells us he was an *Italian*; into which he was led by the name he met with in the MS. from whence he copied his remarks, viz. *Sebaſtiano Cabato* [m]: an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affected to vary foreign names ſtrangely; a folly with which the *French* are ſtill infected, inſomuch, that it is a difficult

[j] Churchill's voyages, introduction.
[l] Eden's hiſtory of travels, p. 224.
[k] Ibid. vol. v. p. 146.
[m] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 402.

thing to undeſtand *Engliſh* proper names, even in their lateſt and beſt hiſtorians. *Sebaſtian* was educated by his father in the ſtudy of thoſe parts of the mathematics which were then beſt underſtood, eſpecially arithmetic, geometry, and coſmography; and by that time he was ſeventeen years old, he had made ſeveral trips to ſea, in order to add to his theoretical notions, a competent ſkill in the practical part of navigation: and in like manner were bred the reſt of his father's ſons, who became alſo eminent men, and ſettled abroad, one in *Genoa*, the other at *Venice* [n].

THE firſt voyage of conſequence in which *Sebaſtian Cabot* was engaged, ſeems to have been that made by his father, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, of which we have given ſome account before [o]. This was in 1497, and certainly firſt taught our ſeamen a paſſage to north *America*: but whether *Sebaſtian Cabot* did not, after the deceaſe of his father, proſecute his deſign, and make a more perfect diſcovery of the coaſts of the *Newfoundland*, is a great doubt with me, becauſe I find ſuch incongruous relations of this voyage in different authors [p]. For inſtance, the celebrated *Peter Martyr*, who was intimately acquainted with *Sebaſtian*, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, ſays, that the voyage wherein he made his great diſcovery towards the north, was performed in two ſhips fitted out at his own expence [q]; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one ſtout ſhip of the king's

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[n] Remarks on Hakluyt, MS. [o] In the life of John Cabot, p. 297. [p] As appears by comparing the accounts in Hakluyt, with thoſe in Purchas, and in the hiſtory of travel, by Eden. [q] Dec ad. iii. cap. 6.

king's, and four belonging to the merchants of *Briſtol* [r]. Beſides this, a very intelligent *Spaniſh* writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when *Cabot* ſailed at the expence of king *Henry* VII. in order to make diſcoveries towards the north, he paſſed beyond cape *Labrador*, ſomewhat more than 58° N. L. then turning towards the weſt, he ſailed along the coaſt to 38°, which agrees very well with our accounts of *John Cabot*'s voyage [s]. But, *Ramuſio*, the *Italian* collector, who had the letter of *Sebaſtian Cabot* before him, when he wrote, ſpeaks of a voyage, wherein he ſailed north, and by weſt to 67° ½, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his ſailors [t]. It is probable, therefore, that *Sebaſtian* made more than one, perhaps more than two voyages into theſe parts, by virtue of king *Henry* VII's commiſſion; and if ſo, he well deſerved the character Sir *William Monſon* has given of him [u], and of his important diſcoveries, which the reader will be pleaſed to ſee in his own words, the authority of the writer from his perfect knowledge of the ſubject, being of as much weight as the facts he mention.

"To come to the particulars, ſays he, of augmenta-
"tion of our trade, of our plantations, and our diſco-
"veries, becauſe every man ſhall have his due therein;
"I will begin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main
"continent of *America*, which the king of *Spain* chal-
"lenges as firſt diſcoverer: But as we acknowledge the king

[r] Fabian's M. S. Chronicle, A. D. 1497.
[s] Lopez de Gomara hiſt. des Ind. occident. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[t] In his preface to the third volume of his excellent collection.
[u] In the large collection called Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 396. and his character, p. 401.

" of *Spain* the firſt light of the weſt and ſouth-weſt parts " of *America*, ſo we and all the world muſt confeſs, that " we were the firſt that took poſſeſſion for the crown of " *England*, of the north part thereof, and not above two " years difference betwixt the one and the other. And " as the *Spaniards* have from that day and year held their " poſſeſſion in the weſt, ſo have we done the like in the " north; and though there is no reſpect, in compariſon " of the wealth betwixt the countries, yet *England* may " boaſt that the diſcovery from the year aforeſaid to this " very day, hath afforded the ſubjects annually 120,000 " pound, and encreaſed the number of many a good ſhip, " and mariners, as our weſtern parts can witneſs by their " fiſhing in *Newfoundland:* neither can *Spain* challenge " a more natural right than we to its diſcovery, for in " that caſe we are both alike. If we deal truly with " others, and not deprive them of their right, it is *Italy* " that muſt aſſume the diſcovery to itſelf, as well in " the one part of *America*, as in the other. *Genoa*, and " *Chriſtopher Columbus* by name, muſt carry away the " praiſe of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that voyage " in agitation, or thought of it, till *Columbus* not only " propoſed, but accompliſhed it. The like may be ſaid " of * *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who, by his earneſt " interceſſion to *Henry* VII. drew him to the diſcovery " of *Newfoundland*, and called it by the name of *Ba-* " *callao*, an *Indian* name for fiſh, for the abundance of " fiſh he found upon that coaſt."

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* This affords a farther and more direct proof of my conjecture, that Sebaſtian Cabot made more than one voyage in the ſervice of Henry VII. ſince from what our author ſays, it looks as if he had not only found the country, but eſtabliſhed the fiſhery of Newfoundland.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought ſurely to have been tranſmitted to future times with honour, ſince it clearly appears, that *Newfoundland* hath been a ſource of riches, and naval power to this nation, from the time it was diſcovered, as well as the firſt of our plantations; ſo that with ſtrict juſtice, it may be ſaid of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, that he was the author of our maritime ſtrength, and opened the way to thoſe improvements which have rendered us ſince ſo great, ſo flouriſhing a people. Yet have we no diſtinct accounts of what he adviſed, or what he performed, for upwards of twenty years together, wherein certainly ſo able a man could never have been idle. The next news we hear of him, is in the eighth of king *Henry* VIII. and our accounts then are none of the cleareſt [w]. It ſeems that *Cabot* had entered into a ſtrict correſpondence with Sir *Thomas Pert*, at this time vice-admiral of *England*, who had a houſe at *Poplar*, and procured him a good ſhip of the king's, in order to make diſcoveries [x]; but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have paſſed by the ſouth to the *Eaſt-Indies*: for he ſailed firſt to *Brazil*, and miſſing there of his purpoſe, ſhaped his courſe for the iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, where he carried on ſome traffic, and then returned, failing abſolutely in the deſign upon which he went; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himſelf, but from the fear and faint-heartedneſs of ſir *Thomas Pert*, his

[w] See Wheeler's diſcourſe of trade, and Capt. Luke Fox's account of the north-weſt paſſage. [x] Hakluyt's Voyages, p. iii. p. 498.

coadjutor, of which we have abundant teſtimony from the writings of a perſon who lived in thoſe times [y].

THIS diſappointment in all probability, inclined *Sebaſtian Cabot* to leave *England*, and to go over to *Spain*, where he was treated with very great reſpect, and raiſed as high as his profeſſion would permit, being declared *Pilot-major*, or chief pilot of *Spain*, and by his office, intruſted with the reviewing all projects for diſcovery, which in thoſe days were many and important. His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found paſſage of *Magellan*, to the *Molucces*; which at length he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorian *Herrera* [z].

HE ſailed, ſays he, about the beginning of *April* 1525, firſt to the *Canaries*, then to the iſlands of *Cape Verde*, thence to cape St. *Auguſtin*, and the iſland of *Patos* or *Geeſe*; and near *Babia de todos los Santos*, or the *Bay of All-Saints*, he met a *French* ſhip. He was ſaid to have managed but indiſcreetly, as wanting proviſions when he came to the ſaid iſland; but there the *Indians* were very kind, and ſupplied him with proviſions for all his ſhips; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force, four ſons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of *Plate*, having left aſhore on a deſart iſland, *Martin Mendez*, his vice-admiral, captain *Francis de Rojas*, and *Michael de Rodas*, becauſe

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[y] See the dedication of a piece, called, *a treatiſe of new India*, publiſhed in 1553, by Mr. Richard Eden, and addreſſed to the great duke of Northumberland. Gonſalvo de Oviedo. hiſt. Ind. occid. lib. xix. cap. 13. [z] Decad. iii. lib. iii. cap. 2.

cauſe they cenſured his management; and in concluſion, he went not to the *Spice-Iſlands*, as well becauſe he had not proviſions, as by reaſon the men would not ſail under him, fearing his conduct of the veſſel in the *Streights*. He ſailed up the river of *Plate*, and about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an iſland which he called St. *Gabriel*, about a league in compaſs, and half a league from the continent towards *Brazil*. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats, three leagues higher, diſcovered a river he called *San Salvador*, or St. *Saviour*, very deep, and a ſafe harbour for the ſhips on the ſame ſide, whither he brought up his veſſels, and unloaded them, becauſe at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left ſome men in it, he reſolved to proceed up that river with boats, and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make diſcoveries, thinking that, although he did not paſs through the *Streights* to the *Spice-Iſlands*, his voyage would not be altogether fruitleſs. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river, called *Zarcarana*, and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, i. e. of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and his followers by another name, *viz. Cabot's Fort*. He thence diſcovered the ſhores of the river *Parana*, which is that of *Plate*, where he found many iſlands and rivers; and keeping along the greateſt ſtream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, which the *Indians* call *Paraguay*, and left the great river on the right, thinking, it bent towards the coaſt of *Brazil*, and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, a thing, which in thoſe parts, he had not ſeen before. There he met with ſo much oppoſition, that he advanced

no farther, but killed many *Indians*, and they ſlew twenty-five of his *Spaniards*, and took three that were gone out to gather *palmetos* to eat. At the ſame time *Cabot* was thus employed, *James Garcia*, with the ſame view of making diſcoveries, had entered the river of *Plate*, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the ſaid river about the beginning of the year 1527, having ſent away his own, which was a large ſhip, alledging that it was of too great a burthen for that diſcovery, and with the reſt, came to an anchor in the ſame place where *Cabot*'s ſhip lay, directing his courſe with two brigantines, and ſixty men, towards the river *Parana*, which lies north and north-weſt, arrived at the fort built by *Cabot*. About 110 leagues above this fort, he found *Sebaſtian Cabot* himſelf in the port of St. *Anne*, ſo named by the latter, and after a ſhort ſtay there, they returned together to the fort of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and thence ſent meſſengers into *Spain*. Thoſe who were diſpatched by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, were *Francis Calderon*, and *George Barlow*, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river *la Plata*, ſhewing how large a tract of land he had not only diſcovered, but ſubdued; and producing gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general's conduct. The demands they made, were, that a ſupply ſhould be ſent of proviſion, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of ſeamen and ſoldiers. To this, the merchants by whom *Cabot*'s ſquadron was fitted out, would not agree, but choſe to let their rights eſcheat to the crown of *Caſtile*. The king then took the whole upon himſelf, but was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that *Sebaſtian Cabot*, quite tired out, as having been five years in *America*, reſolved to return home, which he did, embarking

barking the remainder of his men, and all his effects on board the biggeſt of his ſhips, and leaving the reſt behind him [a].

It was the ſpring of the year 1531, when *Cabot* arrived at the *Spaniſh* court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough, from the manner in which the *Spaniſh* writers ſpeak of him, that he was not well received, and, one may eaſily account for it. He had raiſed himſelf enemies, by treating his *Spaniſh* mutineers with ſo much ſeverity; and on the other hand, his owners were diſappointed, by his not purſuing his voyage to the *Moluccos*. He kept his place, however, and remained in the ſervice of *Spain*, many years after, and, at length, he was invited over to *England* [b]. We have no account, how this was brought about, in any author now extant, and therefore I ſhall offer to the reader's conſideration, a conjecture of my own, which he may receive or reject, according as it ſeems to him probable, or improbable. Mr. *Robert Thorne*, an *Engliſh* merchant at *Sevill*, whom we have mentioned before with commendation, was intimately acquainted with *Cabot*, and was actually one of his owners in his laſt expedition [c]. It ſeems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from *Newfoundland*, might importune *Cabot* to think of coming home: and what ſeems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is *Cabot*'s ſettling at *Briſtol*, when he did return to *England*, of which city Mr. *Thorne* was an eminent merchant, and once mayor [d]. Theſe tranſactions fell out

[a] Herrera, book v. chap. 3. Decad. iii. See alſo an account of this expedition in Churchill's voyages, vol. i. in the introduction. [b] Hayklvyt's voyages. P. iii. p. 7. See alſo the preface to the third volumo of Ramuſio. [c] Hakluyt's voyages, P. iii. p 726. [d] See his monument in the Temple Church, or in Weever, p. 443.

out in the latter end of the reign of *Henry* VIII. about which time, as I ſuppoſe, *Sebaſtian Cabot* actually returned, and ſettled with his family here.

In the very beginning of king *Edward*'s reign, this eminent ſeaman was introduced to the duke of *Somerſet*, then lord protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleaſure in his converſation, being much better verſed in the ſtudies to which *Cabot* had applied himſelf, than, his tender years conſidered, could have been expected; for he knew, not only all the ports and havens in this iſland, and in *Ireland*, but alſo thoſe in *France*, their ſhape, method of entering, commodities and incommodities; and, in ſhort, could anſwer almoſt any queſtion about them, that a ſailor could aſk [e]. We need not wonder, therefore, that with ſuch a prince, *Cabot* was in high eſteem, or that, in his favour, a new office ſhould be erected equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in *Spain*, together with a penſion of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated *January* 6, 1549, in the ſecond year of that king's reign; by a ſpecial clauſe, in which patent, this annuity is made to commence from the *Michaelmas* preceding [f]. Thence forward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was conſulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, in 1551, of which it will be fit to give ſome account here, ſince it has eſcaped the notice of moſt of our hiſtorians, though it gave in ſome meaſure a new turn to the whole ſtate of our commerce.

These merchants are ſometimes called *of the Hanſe*, becauſe they came from the *Hanſe* towns, or free cities in *Germany*,

[e] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 10.

[f] Hakluyt's voyages, P. iii.

Germany, ſometimes *Almains* from their country. They ſettled here in or before the reign of *Henry* III. and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linnen cloth, wax and ſteel, whence the place in *Dowgate*-ward, where they dwelt, was called the *Steel-Yard*, which name it ſtill retains. The kings of *England* encouraged them at firſt, and granted them large privileges; amongſt others, that of exporting our woollen cloths: they had likewiſe an alderman, who was their chief magiſtrate, and in conſideration of various grants from the city, they ſtood bound to repair *Biſhopſgate*, and were likewiſe under other obligations. By degrees, however, the *Engliſh* coming to trade themſelves, and importing many of the commodities in which theſe *Germans* dealt, great controverſies grew between them, the foreigners on all occaſions pleading their charter, which the *Engliſh* merchants treated as a monopoly, not well warranted by law. At laſt the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our *Sebaſtian Cabot*, on the twenty-ninth of *December*, 1551, exhibited to the council, an information againſt theſe merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, to which they were directed to put in their anſwer, they did ſo; and after ſeveral hearings, and a reference to the king's ſollicitor-general, his counſel learned in the law, and the recorder of *London*, a decree paſſed on the twenty-fourth of *February*, whereby theſe merchants of the *Steel-Yard* were declared to be no legal corporation; yet licences were afterwards granted them from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithſtanding this decree, which remained ſtill in full force and virtue [s].

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[s] Minutes of theſe proceedings are to be found in king Edward's diary, and the decree at large in Mr. Wheeler's treatiſe of Commerce, p. 94.

In the month of *May* 1552, the king granted a licence together with letters of ſafe conduct to ſuch perſons as ſhould embark on board three ſhips, to be employed for the diſcovery of a paſſage by the north to the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Sebaſtian Cabot* was at that time governor of the company of merchant-adventurers, on whoſe advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whoſe intereſt this countenance from the court was procured [h]. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely; but, as I obſerve, there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, ſo, I am apt to believe, that there muſt have been two diſtinct undertakings, the one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect; and the other by a joint ſtock of the merchants, which did. Of the firſt, becauſe it is little taken notice of, I will ſpeak particularly here; for the other will come in properly in my account of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*. When therefore this matter was firſt propoſed, the king lent two ſhips, the *Primroſe* and the *Moon*, to *Barnes* lord-mayor of *London*; Mr. *Garret*, one of the Sheriffs, and Mr. *York*, and Mr. *Wyndham*, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king, to deliver two ſhips of like burden, and in as good condition, at *Midſummer* 1554. In conſideration alſo of the expence and trouble of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, his majeſty made him a preſent of two hundred pounds [i]. A year afterwards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear, and thereupon *Sebaſtian Cabot* delivered to the commander in chief, thoſe directions by which he was to regulate his conduct, the title of which ran thus: "Ordinances, inſtructions and advertiſements, of and for "the

[h] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 504. but Mr. Strype's remark, that theſe were the ſhips which went with Sir Hugh Willoughby, is wrong. [i] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 402.

"the direction of the intended voyage for *Cathay*, compi-
"led, made, and delivered, by the right worſhipful *Seba-*
"*ſtian Cabot*, Eſq; governor of the myſtery and compa-
"ny of the merchant-adventurers, for the diſcovery of
"regions, dominions, iſlands, and places unknown: the
"ninth of *May*, in the year of our lord god, 1553" [k]. This ſhews, how great a truſt was repoſed in this gentleman by the government, and by the merchants of *England*; and the inſtructions themſelves, which we ſtill have entire [l], are the cleareſt proofs of his ſagacity and penetration, and the fulleſt juſtification of ſuch as did repoſe their truſt in him. Many have ſurmiſed, that he was a knight, whence we often find him ſtiled Sir *Sebaſtian*; but the very title of thoſe inſtructions I have cited, proves the contrary, as alſo the charter granted by king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, in the firſt year of their reign, to the merchants of *Ruſſia*, ſince ſtiled the *Ruſſia* company, whereby *Sebaſtian Cabota* is made governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the firſt ſhips employed in that trade [m]; but ſo far from being ſtiled knight, that he is called only one *Sebaſtian Cabota*, without any diſtinction at all [n]. After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company, in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. *Stephen Burroughs*, it is obſerved, that on the twenty-ſeventh of *April*, that year, he went down to *Graveſend*, and there went on boatd the *Serch-thrift*, a ſmall veſſel fitted out under the command of the ſaid *Burroughs* for *Ruſſia*, where he gave generouſly to the ſailors,

and

[k] Theſe are yet in the hands of the Ruſſia company. [l] In Hakluyt's voyages, vol. p 226. [m] Ibid. p. 267, where the charter is at large. [n] The words in the charter are, *and in conſideration that one* Sebaſtian Cabota *hath been the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this voyage, therefore*, &c. which authentic declaration of his merit, does him more honour, than any titles could have done.

and on his return to *Gravesend*, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked (which shews the chearful temper of the man) that, upon his coming back to *Gravesend*, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the *Christopher*, where, says Mr. *Burroughs*, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself[o]. This is the last circumstance relating to *Cabot*, that I can any where find; and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity, so I look upon it as certain, that he died some time in this, or the next year, when he was upwards of seventy. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he it was, who first took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such mighty consequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in their enquiries ever since[p]. An *Italian* writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which has hitherto appeared, celebrates *Sebastian Cabot* as his countryman[q]: Yet, as he was ours both by nature and affection[r], and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, I thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent *British* seamen; the rather, because he has been hitherto strangely neglected

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[o] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 274, 275.

[p] Stowe's Annals, p. 811. Varenius's geography, p. 837.

[q] Gio. Battista Ramusio, in the preface to his third volume.

[r] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 319.

neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general hiſtorians [s].

It is likewiſe fit to ſay ſomewhat of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, admiral of that expedition into the northern ſeas, which produced the important diſcovery of the trade to *Archangel*. I have before obſerved, that the original of this undertaking ſprung from *Sebaſtian Cabot*, whoſe ſettled opinion it had always been, that there were ſtreights near the north pole, anſwerable to thoſe of *Magellan*. It was by him propoſed to king *Edward* VI. ſo early as the year 1551. In the month of *February* the next year, he obtained two ſhips from the king, the *Primroſe* and the *Moon*; and the terms on which he was to have theſe, leading him to conſet with ſome principal merchants, the reſult of their conferences was the changing his ſcheme, inſomuch, that it was agreed to build three new ſhips, and to fit theſe out by a joint ſtock, to which ſuch as had a good opinion of the voyage, might contribute at twenty-five pounds a ſhare: this once ſettled, the ſhips were built with wonderful celerity, and that which was called the *Admiral*, was ſheathed with lead, to preſerve her from the worms. The whole of this joint ſtock, amounted but to ſix thouſand pounds, and yet this money was ſo well employed, that by the beginning of *May* 1553, they were ready to ſail [t]. The *Admiral* was called the *Bona Eſperanza*, of the burthen of 120 tons, commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Knight, the *Edward Bonaventure*, of 160 tons, commanded by captain *Richard Chancellor*, the third

[s] One might have wonder'd at his being omitted in the general dictionary, if there had been an article of DRAKE. [t] See the account of Clement Adams, Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

third the *Bona Confidentia*, of 90 tons, *Cornelius Durfuth* maſter. *May* 10, 1553, they ſailed from *Ratcliff*, and on the eighteenth of the ſame month cleared from *Graveſend*. The admiral, Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, had all the qualities that could be deſired in a commander. He was deſcended of an honourable family, was a man of great parts, much experience, and unconquerable courage, yet unfortunate in this undertaking. In the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, he loſt the company of captain *Chancellor*, and about the ſame time, firſt diſcovered *Greenland*, though the *Dutch* endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmoſt progreſs was to 72° of N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far ſpent, and his ſhips unable to bear the ſea, he put into the haven of *Arzina*, in *Lapland*, on the eighteenth of *September*, and there provided the beſt he could to have paſſed the winter. It appears by a will, which was found in his ſhip, that Sir *Hugh*, and moſt of his company, were alive in *January* 1554; but ſoon after, they were all frozen to death, their bodies being found, the next ſummer, by *Ruſſian* fiſhermen, who repaired to that coaſt, as alſo, the original journal of Sir *Hugh*, from whence theſe particulars are taken. As for captain *Chancellor*, he was ſo fortunate, as to enter the river of St. *Nicholas*, where he was well received, and had ſoon after acceſs to *John Baſilowitz*, then great duke of *Muſcovy* [n].

[n] Ibid. p. 232.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, *during the reign of Queen* Mary; *together with such transactions as relate to foreign commerce, or remarkable discoveries.*

THOSE who were about king *Edward* at the time of his deceaſe, prevailed upon him to ſet aſide both his ſiſters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to call to the poſſeſſion of his throne, his couſin the lady *Jane Grey*, who was married a little before to the lord *Guilford Dudley*, ſon to the great duke of *Northumberland*: but, notwithſtanding the time they had, during the king's ſickneſs to provide for the ſupport of their deſigns, they were ſo much at a loſs, that they did not immediately publiſh his death; but on the eighth of *July* 1553, they ſent for the lord-mayor of *London*, and directed him to bring with him ſix aldermen, ſix merchants of the ſtaple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers, whom they acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had diſpoſed of the crown, requiring them to keep it ſecret; which they did for two days, and then proclaimed lady *Jane* queen of *England*, &c. I mention this circumſtance, to ſhew, in what eſtimation traders then were. Among the reſt of the precautions taken by the duke of *Northumberland* and his party, one of the principal was, his ſending a ſquadron of ſix

ſhips, with orders to lie before the port of *Yarmouth*, to prevent the lady *Mary*, as he ſtiled her, from making her eſcape beyond the ſeas; which, however, proved the ruin of his deſign. For theſe ſhips were no ſooner ſeen before the town of *Yarmouth*, than Sir *Harry Jernegan* went off in an open boat, and exhorted the ſeamen to declare themſelves for queen *Mary*, which they immediately did. This, with the lord warden of the *Cinque Ports*, proclaiming the queen in *Kent*, contributed chiefly to put an end to the ſtruggle, ſo that on the 19th, ſhe was proclaimed at *London*, and lady *Jane* became a priſoner in the very ſame place, where, a little before, ſhe had kept her court [a].

In the beginning of her reign, queen *Mary* acted with great temper and moderation, releaſing the duke of *Norfolk*, who had remained a priſoner all this time in the *Tower*, from his confinement; impriſoning indeed, ſuch as had taken arms againſt her, but proceeding to no greater ſeverities, till after *Wyat*'s rebellion, when falling into the hands of *Hiſpanioliz'd* counſellors, ſhe began to act with that cruelty, which is ſo deſervedly eſteemed the blemiſh of her reign. That ſhe was naturally a woman of a better temper, appears, by remitting part of a tax granted to her brother king *Edward*, by his laſt parliament; and that ſhe had a juſt reſpect, to the honour of the *Engliſh* nation is clear, from the great pains ſhe took to rectify all the diſorders which had crept into the government during the duke of *Northumberland*'s deſpotick adminiſtration [b]. But all her good quaſities were blaſted, by her perſiſting obſtinately in her reſolution to marry *Philip*, prince of *Spain*, contrary

[a] Stowe, Helingſhed, Speed, Burnet, Strype, Echard, Rapin.
[b] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 31, 32, 33.

contrary to the general inclination of her people. In purſuance of this, commodore *Winter* was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to fetch the ambaſſadors ſent by *Charles* V. to conclude this match [c]. On the arrival of Mr. *Winter* at *Oſtend*, the emperor ſent him a very fine gold chain; which, at his return to *England*, he ſhewed to Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who, after looking at it for ſome time, ſaid, *for this gold chain, you have ſold your country*; which expreſſion, had like to have coſt them both their lives [d]. It was the coming of theſe ambaſſadors, which induced Sir *Thomas Wyat* to take up arms, and begin that rebellion which firſt endangered the queen's ſafety, and at laſt brought him to the block [e]. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe cauſed a fleet of twenty-eight ſail to be equipped, the command of which ſhe gave to the lord *William Howard*, created baron of *Effingham*, in the firſt year of her reign [f], and lord high admiral, who was now, by ſpecial commiſſion [g], conſtituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her royal army. He was ſent to ſea, under pretence of guarding the coaſt; but in reality was deſigned to eſcort prince *Philip*, this was, however, a needleſs care, ſince his own fleet conſiſted of a hundred and ſixty ſail, with which he entered the narrow ſeas; his admiral carrying the *Spaniſh* flag in his main-top, a thing which gave ſuch offence to the gallant admiral of *England*, that he ſaluted him with a ſhot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince; a circumſtance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and, one would think too, of IMITATION [h].

[c] Cooper, Holingſhed, Rapin. [d] See his trial preſerved in Holingſhed. [e] Stowe, Burnet, Strype. [f] Pat. 1. M. p. 7. [g] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xv. p. 384. [h] Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 243

THE queen was now about thirty-eight years old, entirely at her own diſpoſal *, and, if we may judge from her conduct, ſomewhat in a hurry for a huſband, which will appear the more excuſable, if we conſider, that ſhe had been diſappointed nine or ten times, if not more [1]. She ſeems, beſides, to have had a natural inclination for this match, as being herſelf half a *Spaniard* by her mother's ſide, and always remarkably affected to that nation; and yet, by the care of her council, very reaſonable articles were drawn for preventing the evils apprehended from this match [k]. Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton* the 19th of *July*, and paſſing on to *Winchester*, there eſpouſed the queen on the 25th of the ſame month, being the feaſt of the *Spaniſh* patron St. *James* [l]. As the nation was diſpleaſed at the celebration of their nuptials, ſo their diſcontents grew higher and higher, inſomuch, that the queen never had a pleaſant hour, or her ſubjects a quiet minute, from her wedding-day, though many projects were ſet on foot to pacify them. To this end, the *Spaniſh* artiſans were forbid to open ſhops here, ſevere juſtice was done on ſeveral, who in reſentment of inſults, had killed ſome of the *Engliſh*, and a great many carts laden, as it was ſaid, with gold and ſilver, were driven through the ſtreets to the *Tower* [m]. All this, however, could not diſſipate the jealouſies which the *Engliſh* had conceived, nor were they or their queen at all ſatisfied with the emperor *Charles* V. † reſigning the crown of *Spain* to king *Philip*. They eaſily foreſaw, that this would occaſion his remaining almoſt conſtantly

* A. D 1554 [l] Stryp's memorials, vol. iii. p, 129. [k] Theſe are but imperfectly publiſhed in Holingſhed; but the original was copied by a careful hand, and is in the Cotton Library, Julius, F. 6. [l] Cooper, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. [m] Stryp, Burnet, Godwin. † A D. 1556.

conſtantly abroad; which would prove of the utmoſt ill conſequence to their affairs, ſince, without communicating and receiving direction from him, the council could do little or nothing here at home [n]. After the emperor's reſignation, in his paſſage from *Flanders* to *Spain*, he put into an *Engliſh* port, where he was received with great reſpect by the lord high admiral, who could not, however, prevail upon him to viſit the queen his daughter; but to excuſe it, he wrote her a very long letter, perplexed and ambiguous, ſpeaking that diſorder of mind under which he laboured. This letter is dated the 20th of *September*, 1556, and ſeems to have been chiefly intended to excuſe the abſence of his ſon [o]. Towards the end of the year, a diſcovery was made of a plot, to deliver the queen's caſtles, beyond the ſeas, into the hands of the *French*, which alarmed the nation very much, and made them apprehenſive of what ſoon after followed [p].

IT was ſtipulated by the articles of marriage, that the queen's dominions ſhould not be engaged in any war, particularly with the crown of *France*, on account of any diſputes between the *French* and king *Philip*; and yet, when the *Spaniards* thought it adviſable to break with the *French* king, *Henry* II. the queen and her council were prevailed upon to forget that article, and the intereſts of *England*, and to enter into a war, both with *Scotland* and *France*. To bring this to paſs, king *Philip* himſelf came over, and ſtaid the beſt part of the ſpring in *England*, where he concerted ſuch meaſures, as he thought would infallibly ruin

[n] See this ſtrongly ſet forth in the minute of an order made by queen Elizabeth in council, on her acceſſion, in the diary of Sir W. Cecil (lord Burleigh) Cotton Library, Titus. C. 10. [o] Strype's memorials, vol iii. p. 307. [p] Ibid. p. 355.

the *French*. On his return into *Flanders*, and drawing his forces to the frontiers, the earl of *Pembroke* paſſed from hence with a gallant body of troops, conſiſting of between ten and eleven thouſand men, and had the honour to contribute greatly to the total defeat of the *French* forces, before the town of St. *Quintin*, in the famous battle fought there on the 7th of *July*, 1557, and ſoon after aſſiſted in taking of the town by ſtorm [q]. But, while they gained honour abroad, their country ſuffered ſeverely at home; for the *Scots* not only haraſſed the borders, but alſo, by the advice and aſſiſtance of the *French*, fitted out abundance of privateers, that diſturbed the commerce, and particularly alarmed all ſuch as were concerned in the *Iceland* trade, which was then of very great conſequence. To quiet the apprehenſions of the merchants, Sir *John Clare*, vice-admiral of *England*, was ſent with a fleet of twelve ſail to annoy the *Scots*, and to preſerve the *Iceland* fleet: with this view, he made a deſcent on the iſland of *Kirkway*, one of the *Orkneys*, on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1557; but the next day the *Scots*, to the number of three thouſand men, fell upon him, defeated the forces he had landed, killed three of his captains, took his artillery, and to complete the misfortune, the boat in which he fled, overſet, ſo that himſelf, with ſeveral others, were drowned. The reſt of the fleet, diſcouraged by this unlucky accident, abandoned their deſign, and returned home, which encouraged the *Scots* to raiſe a great army, and to threaten a dangerous invaſion; but their own domeſtick diſſentions rendered their projects abortive, and preſerved the nation from any further damage on that ſide [r].

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[q] Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 710. Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 210. Strype, Stowe, Holinſhed. [r] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 425.

THE ſucceeding winter proved fatal to the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions in *France*, thoſe ſmall remains of the great conqueſts which her *Henry*'s and *Edward*'s had made. The duke of *Guiſe*, at this time governed all in *France*, who, being well informed of the ſtrange policy of the *Engliſh*, truſting in the winter, the defence of *Calais*, rather to its ſituation, than to its garriſon; reſolved to make uſe of that ſeaſon to ſurprize it. The preſent war with *Spain*, gave a colour for his drawing together a great army on the frontiers, and under pretence of diſturbing the *Engliſh* navigation, he directed abundance of ſhips to be fitted out from all the ports of *France*, with ſecret directions to join before *Calais*, in the beginning of the month of *January*. On the firſt of that month, he threw himſelf, with a choice body of troops, before the place, or rather behind it, towards the ſea, where attacking the forts of *Nicolay*, and the *Ryſbank*, he, after a vigorous defence, made himſelf maſter of them; after which he aſſaulted the town, and in a week's time, forced it to capitulate; the lord *Wentworth*, who commanded therein, having no ſtronger garriſon than five hundred men [a]. Thus, in eight days, the *Engliſh* loſt a place, which they had held two hundred and ten years, and which had coſt *Edward* III. eleven months ſiege before he became maſter of it. Some of our hiſtorians, and eſpecially the memoir-writers of thoſe times, attribute this misfortune to treachery, and ſtab ſeveral noble characters with imputations of this ſort, according as their prejudices led them; but there does not appear the leaſt ground for theſe reports, any more than for ſuggeſting that the lord *Gray*, who was governor of the caſtle of *Guiſnes*, betray-

[a] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 210.

ed it [t]; ſince the *French* writers very candidly acknowledge, that he made not only a good, but a deſperate defence; ſo that if he had either commanded a numerous garriſon, or had entertained any hopes of relief, he would have infallibly preſerved the place. As it was, he ſurrendered upon honourable terms, which is more than can be ſaid for the governor of the fortreſs of *Hames*, who, ſtruck with a ſudden panick, yielded it up before the *French* had attacked it [u]. The news of theſe diſaſters ſtruck the queen with deſpair, which is not wonderful; but that they ſhould ſo diſpirit the nation, as to engage the council to write in ſuch a dejected ſtrain as they did to king *Philip*, on his moving them to attempt the retaking the place, is really ſtrange, and I think can be accounted for no other way, than by ſuppoſing, that, on the one hand, they were weary of the mighty expence which theſe poſſeſſions annually coſt *England*, and were, on the other hand, willing to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, to demonſtrate to the king, the miſchief this war had done them, and how utterly incapable they were of proſecuting his projects any longer [w].

In order to ſhew the probability of what I have ſuggeſted, and to give my readers the cleareſt idea of the real importance of this place, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that at ſuch time as the *French* king *Francis* I. was priſoner in *Spain*, there wanted not ſome, who adviſed king *Henry* VIII. to lay hold of this opportunity of parting with this fortreſs, and all he held in *France*, ſuppoſing, that by ſuch a ſtep, he might add to his profit, without diminiſhing

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[t] Strype, Burnet, Stowe.

[u] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 216.

[w] See the copy of the council's letter, dated *Feb.* 1. 1557. Cotton Library, Titus, B. 2.

diminiſhing his honour: but upon a debate in his privy council, it was reſolved to keep it[x]. This is certain, that the expence of preſerving *Calais* was very great; not amounting to leſs, during the time we held it, than three millions. How to compute the advantages we derived from it, I confeſs, is not eaſy to ſay, but ſurely the indifference with which queen *Elizabeth* and her miniſters treated it, and the little inclination we have ſince ſhewn to get it into our poſſeſſion, may render what I have advanced credible[y]. Add to this, that in thoſe days the houſe of *Auſtria* was almoſt as formidable as the houſe of *Bourbon*'s now; which made the greateſt part of *Europe* afraid of it, and of it only. How well this apprehenſion was conducted, and with what addreſs the *Engliſh* miniſtry managed this general inclination, ſo as to render the weakneſs of other ſtates the cauſe of weakening *Spain*, to ſuch a degree as ſhe has never recovered, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew. In the mean time, let us return to the laſt, indeed the only naval expedition in this reign.

THE war ſtill continued hot between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and the former being earlier in the field, in 1558, began to gain great advantages in the low countries; but growing upon this too warm, as is common with the *French*, they attacked count *Egmont*, near *Gravelin*, whoſe army made a gallant reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the *Engliſh* ſquadron, then cruiſing in the narrow ſeas, hearing the inceſſant noiſe of their artillery, and having the advantage of the wind, approached the field of battel, which was cloſe to the ſea-ſide, and bringing their guns to

[x] Ex litera Archiep. Cantuar. ad Cardinal Wolſey. [y] See Strype's Annals, vol. i.

to bear upon the left wing of the *French*, they did ſuch terrible execution, as quickly decided the fate of the day, and forced two hundred of the enemy to fly to the *Engliſh* ſhips for quarter. This battel was fought on the 3d of *July*, and was of infinite conſequence to king *Philip*. In the mean time, the queen cauſed a conſiderable navy to be drawn together, in order to make a deſcent upon *France*. The ſhips were not fewer than two hundred and forty ſail; but there were great uncertainties about the time, place, and manner of acting, occaſioned by the king's feeding queen *Mary* with hopes of his coming over to *England*, which it is more than probable he never intended. At length, the lord *Clinton*, then high-admiral, put to ſea with a ſtout fleet in the month of *July*, and landed ſeven thouſand men in lower *Bretagne*, where they took the town of *Conquet*, and ſoon after reimbarked. Before they reached the *Engliſh* coaſt, they were joined by a ſquadron of thirty ſail of *Spaniſh* ſhips, which induced the admiral to think of taking *Breſt*; but arriving on the coaſt of *Bretagne* a ſecond time, they found the whole country in arms, ſo that they were conſtrained to abandon their enterprize, and to lay aſide all thoughts of action for this year [a].

THIS diſappointment joined to the coldneſs of her huſband, the calamities which the war had brought upon her native country, and the general diſcontent of her ſubjects, greatly affected the queen's tender conſtitution, now in a manner worn out by a dropſy: yet this diſtemper was not the immediate cauſe of her death, but rather a kind

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[a] Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 233. Strype, Stowe, Speed.

kind of infectious fever, which raged exceſſively in the autumn of this year, eſpecially among the better ſort. According to the accounts in ſome of our old chronicles, it differed little from a plague [a]. While ſhe laboured under her laſt ſickneſs, king *Philip* entered into a treaty with the *French* king, wherein at firſt he pretended to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on the reſtitution of *Calais*; but it afterwards appeared, that this was only for form-ſake, and in order to obtain better terms for himſelf, the poor queen was wont to ſay in her languiſhing condition, that as yet they knew not her diſtemper, but that, if after ſhe was dead, they opened her, they would find *Calais* written in her heart [b]. Worn with her diſeaſe, and excruciated by her griefs, ſhe expired the 17th of *November* 1558, the parliament then ſitting. We have ſaid ſomewhat as to her character before, but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in the latter part of her reign, and eſpecially after the death of *Stephen Gardiner* biſhop of *Winchester*, and lord-chancellor, her prime miniſter, things went but indifferently in parliament, where but a few weeks before her death, one of the members for the city of *London*, made a long ſpeech in the houſe of commons, wherein he fully and freely laid open all their grievances, and entered into a particular detail of the ſtate of the nation, affirming amongſt other things, that the city of *London*, was then worth leſs by three hundred thouſand pounds than at the death of king *Edward* [c]. We need not wonder, therefore, that

[a] Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 377. Stowe's Annals, p. 684. Dr. Haddon's anſwer apologetical to Hierome Oſorius (who alledged the queen was poiſoned) fol. 28. [b] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [c] Sir Thomas Smith reports this in his oration on the queſtion, whether it would be more expedient for the nation, that queen Elizabeth ſhould marry a native or a foreigner?

that this princeſs was very little regretted; eſpecially if we conſider, that throughout her whole reign, ſhe put herſelf at the head of a party both in church and ſtate, and thereby exceedingly provoked the body of her people.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that by the hardſhips the nation underwent, in conſequence of the queen's foreign marriage, they were for that ſeaſon cured of their unreaſonable attachment to the houſe of *Burgundy*, which from the time that *Maximilian* married the heireſs of the laſt duke, to the death of queen *Mary*, coſt *England* in the bare expence of wars and ſubſidies entered into, or granted on their behalf, ſix millions of our money, excluſive of the inexpreſſible advantages derived to them from our trade, of which enough has been ſaid in the former reign. To this we may juſtly aſcribe in a great meaſure, the putting our commerce upon a right foot, by which I mean, taking it out of the hands of the foreigners in the ſteel-yard, and out of the hands of an excluſive company here at home, which had been impracticable, or which comes to the ſame thing, never had been practiſed; if through the diſtreſſes brought upon us by queen *Mary*'s adminiſtration, our political ſyſtem had not been changed, and the bringing this to paſs, ought in juſtice to be aſcribed to Sir *William Cecil*, who being little employed, tho' much regarded by that princeſs, ſpent much of his leiſure time in making himſelf entirely maſter of the practical, as well as ſpeculative knowledge relative to coin and commerce, which with ſo much credit to himſelf, and glory to his ſovereign, he exerted in the next reign. For as it was the bane of queen *Mary*'s government, that ſhe was entirely guided by foreign councils, ſo it was the principal ſource of her ſiſter's fame and felicity, that her views were entirely *Engliſh*, as were thoſe of her miniſter before-mentioned

tioned, whoſe maxim it was, that his miſtreſs could not be great, and himſelf ſecure, by any other means then conſulting for, and procuring the common benefit of the nation.

Some things, however, were done under the reign of king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, for the benefit of trade. King *Edward*'s decree againſt the merchants of the *Steel-yard*, was enforced, and the privileges this company pretended to were entirely taken away, for this juſt and wiſe reaſon, becauſe that though they were ſaid to be for the benefit and advancement of commerce, yet they were found in effect to be prejudicial thereto, by maintaining in theſe merchants a monopoly, by ſecreting the myſtery of traffick from the natives of this realm, and by eſtabliſhing a kind of foreign republic in the metropolis of this kingdom [d]. The *Ruſſia* company, or as it was then called the *Muſcovy* company, was eſtabliſhed by the charter which has been mentioned before, with a particular view to the diſcovery of new trades, and in this reſpect, the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful eſtabliſhment that was ever founded. It was therefore further encouraged by an act in the eighth of the next reign, and ſo lately as in the time of *William* III. another act paſſed, whereby the company are obliged to admit as a member, and to a joint participation of all their privileges any ſubject of this realm who requeſts the ſame, paying for ſuch admiſſion five pounds; ſo that this ſociety ſtands on a broad bottom, and cannot be charged with any of thoſe inconveniencies which may be juſtly imputed to other companies [e]. The firſt

Ruſſia

[d] Wheeler's diſcourſe on trade.

[e] See their caſes on their late petition.

Ruſſian ambaſſador ſent hither was in this reign, and was received with great reſpect, having his firſt public audience of king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, on the 25th of *March* 1557. We find alſo, that ſeveral letters were written to princes and ſtates, in favour of our merchants, by the direction of their majeſties; and by the favour of king *Philip*, there was a conſiderable intercourſe with *Spain*, and with all the provinces ſubject to his catholic majeſty throughout *Europe*; which, though it might poſſibly be the effects of his policy, in order to gain the affections of the *Engliſh*, yet it was certainly of great advantage to private perſons, quickned the ſpirit of trade, and added ſomewhat to the public ſtock. It muſt however be allowed, that theſe favours did by no means balance the inconveniencies which aroſe from the influence of foreign councils, much leſs would they have made us amends, if the intrigues of this enterprizing prince had taken effect; for that he had thoughts of adding *England* and *Ireland* to his other hereditary dominions, and of awing them by *Spaniſh* garriſons, is very certain, though the war with *France*, and the queen's early death, prevented ſuch ſchemes from being carried into execution [f]. This, as it was very fortunate for us, ſo it was ſuch a heavy diſappointment to him, that, as we ſhall ſee in the ſucceeding part of this work, he exerted all his addreſs, and employed his utmoſt power to atchieve by force, what he had failed of obtaining by fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime ſtrength, and increaſed ours much beyond what could otherwiſe have been by our utmoſt induſtry effected.

As

[f] See lord keeper Bacon's ſpeech in d'Ewes's journal, an. 1. Eliz.

As to diſcoveries, there were not many attempted in this ſhort ſpace. *Stephen Burroughs*, as we before obſerved, was fitted out, to proſecute Sir *Hugh Willoughby*'s attempt to find a paſſage by the north to the *Eaſt-Indies*; but he failed, though he paſſed as far as the ſtreights of *Weygatz* [g]. Captain *Richard Chancellor*, who had ſo happily begun an intercourſe between us and *Ruſſia*, and procured ſuch ample privileges for our merchants from the *Czar*, made two other voyages into his dominions, which were very ſucceſsful; but in returning from the laſt, he was unfortunately loſt on the coaſt of *Scotland*, in the latter end of the year 1556 [h]. The next year the *Ruſſia* company ſent captain *Anthony Jenkinſon* into *Muſcovy*, who the year following paſſed with infinite labour, and incredible danger, into *Bucharia*, having traverſed the countries bordering on the *Caſpian* ſea, and ſo was actually the firſt diſcoverer of the *Perſian* trade by the way of *Muſcovy*, which the *Ruſſia* company were by an act of parliament obtained a few years ago, enabled to proſecute, which has been very beneficial already, and which there is the higheſt probability, will in ſucceeding times become as highly advantageous to the nation, as it does honour to this company at preſent, who (in an age ſo degenerate as this we live in, wherein monopolies, and the art of making money generate money, ſeemed to have ſtifled all juſt notions of commerce) have exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, and in a manner ſo agreeable to their charter, by reviving this old trade of theirs ſo long forgot, that it ſeems equivalent to a new diſcovery. If the nature of

[g] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 282. [h] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

of this work, and the bounds preſcribed me would permit, I could eaſily ſhew, that this very project was long ago entertained by the *Genoeſe*, hath been carefully enquired into by the *French*, and ſilently exerciſed by the *Dutch*, till now that it is like to return to its firſt inventors, and therefore beſt entitled proprietors, the *Ruſſia* company of *England*[1].

CHAP. XII.

Containing the Naval Hiſtory of ENGLAND *under the auſpicious reign of queen* Elizabeth, *an account of the many diſcoveries made, and plantations ſettled, during that ſpace of time, with the meaſures purſued for the advancement of trade; including alſo memoirs of the famous admirals and eminent ſeamen, who flouriſhed in that glorious period.*

ON the demiſe of queen *Mary*, one would have thought there needed no conſiderations in order to ſettle the ſucceſſion, ſince, according to the will of king *Henry*, which had been hitherto obeyed, as well as the laws of nature and

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 324.—336. Compare the trade opened by captain Jenkinſon in that voyage, with what is ſet forth in the Ruſſia company's caſe, and with our ſubſequent accounts from Perſia.

and of the land; the lady *Elizabeth* became immediately queen. The miniſtry in the late reign, however, ſeem to have been in ſome doubt about taking this ſtep, and very probably if the parliament had not been ſitting, they might have made ſome attempt to have ſecured their own power, at the expence of the public peace: but it fell out more happily for the nation, ſo that after a ſhort conſultation, they reſolved to give notice to the houſe of lords of the demiſe of the queen; and upon this, orders were immediately given for proclaiming queen *Elizabeth* [a].

THERE never was perhaps a kingdom in a more diſtreſſed condition than *England* at the acceſſion of this queen. It was engaged in a war abroad for the ſervice of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and diſtracted about their religious and civil concerns. Thoſe of the reformed religion had been lately expoſed to the flames, and thoſe of the *Roman* communion found themſelves now in a declining ſtate. On the continent we had no allies; in this very iſland the *Scots* were enemies, and their queen claimed the *Engliſh* crown. The *Exchequer* was exhauſted, moſt of the forts and caſtles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at ſea we had loſt much of our ancient reputation, and too a ſharp ſenſe of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the laſt degree [b]. *Elizabeth* was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what ſhe inherited from her father, a high and haughty ſpirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an abſolute contempt of thoſe pleaſures,

[a] Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 465. [b] Gul. Camden. Annal. vol. i. p. 27. Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 2, 3. and the ſpeech of lord keeper Bacon, in Sir Simmond's D'Ewes's journal.

by the indulging which, princes are too commonly miſled. Her wiſdom conſiſted in good ſenſe, rather than refined maxims, and her policy ſeems to have roſe no higher than to this plain rule, of, ſteadily minding her buſineſs. From the moment ſhe became a queen, ſhe never ſuffered herſelf to forget the ſtation in which God had placed her. She received the compliments on her acceſſion with majeſty, and ſhe ſupported her dignity even in her dying moments. The ſubſequent part of this hiſtory will ſhew, that this character is drawn from her actions, and that I have been no more inclined to flatter her, than to aſperſe ſome of her royal predeceſſors; though, if authorities could ſupport ſcandal, I might have cited not a few to countenance both. But let us ſee by what ſteps this great queen and her able miniſters, extricated their country from the miſery in which it was involved, and reſtored this realm not only to a ſettled and flouriſhing condition, but raiſed her glory higher than in her moſt happy times ſhe had ever ſtood, laying the foundation of that extenſive power, which ſhe has ſince enjoyed, and which ſhe may always enjoy, if there be not wanting honeſt men at the helm, or if the ſpirit of the nation co-operates conſtantly with that of their rulers.

THE firſt act of the queen's government was aſſerting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which was recited, that the diſtreſſes of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counſels in the late reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that ſhe was a free princeſs, and meant ſo to act, without any further applications to *Spain*, than the concerns of her people required [c]. On the twenty-firſt

[c] Cotton library, Titus, c. 10.

firſt of *November*, when ſhe had worn the crown but three days, ſhe ſent orders to vice-admiral *Malyn*, to draw together as many ſhips as he could for the defence of the narrow ſeas, and for preventing likewiſe all perſons from entering into, or paſſing out of the kingdom without licence, which he performed ſo ſtrictly, that in a ſhort time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to ſignify to the warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, that the queen meant not to impriſon her ſubjects, but that perſons might paſs and repaſs about their lawful concerns [d]. With like diligence, proviſion was made for the ſecurity of *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and the *Iſle of Wight* [e], ſo that by the end of the year, the kingdom was out of all danger from any ſudden inſult, and the queen at leiſure to conſider how ſhe might farther ſtrengthen it, ſo as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive.

In the month of *April* 1559, peace was concluded with *France*, and therein, amongſt other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the *French* ſhould render to the queen the town of *Calais*, or pay her fifty thouſand crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty, the *Dauphin* and the queen of *Scots* were alſo included; but it was very indifferently performed; for the *French* immediately began to ſend over great forces into *Scotland*, where they intended, firſt to root out the proteſtant religion, and then to have made themſelves entirely maſters of the kingdom [f]. This proceeding ſo alarmed the nobility of *Scotland*, that many of them had immediate

[d] Stryp.'s Annals, vol. i. p. 6. [e] See Sir William Cecil (lord Burleigh's) diary in the Cotton library, Titus, c. 10. [f] Buchanan, Camden, Keith, Burnet, Rapin, and even the french hiſtorians, who all own this project of their king Francis II.

recourſe to arms, and not finding their own ſtrength ſufficient, applied themſelves for protection to queen *Elizabeth*, who foreſeeing the conſequence of ſuffering the *French* to fix themſelves, and eſtabliſh an intereſt in *Scotland*, determined to ſend thither the aſſiſtance that was deſired both by land and ſea [g]. In the mean time a ſtrict enquiry was made into the loſs of *Calais* in the late reign. The lord *Wentworth*, on whom many aſperſions had fallen, was very fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains *Chamberlain* and *Harleſton*, were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them [h]. As for lord *Grey*, his gallant defence of the fortreſs, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any proſecution; inſtead of which, he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into *Scotland*. The fleet was commanded by admiral *Winter*, which ſailing up the *Frith of Forth*, blocked up *Leith* by ſea, while the army of the *Scots* lords, and the *Engliſh* auxiliaries under lord *Grey*, beſieged it by land, and in a very ſhort ſpace forced the *French* garriſon to capitulate; whereby all the deſigns of *France* on that ſide, were entirely broken [i], and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which ſhe did with ſuch diligence, that in two years ſpace, religion was reſtored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redreſſed, baſe money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flouriſhing condition.

But above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; ſhe directed a moſt exact ſurvey of it to be made, a very ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes of its decay, and the moſt effectual

[g] See Keith's hiſtory of the church and ſtate of Scotland, vol. i. p. 113. [h] Stowe, Hollingſhed, Speed, Camden, Strype. [i] Keith, Camden, Mezeray, Daniel, Rapin.

effectual means by which it might be recovered. She iſſued orders for preſerving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of braſs cannon to be caſt, and encouraged the making gunpowder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vaſt expence. For the ſecurity of her fleet, which generally lay in the river *Medway*, ſhe built a ſtrong fortreſs, called, *Upnore-Caſtle*. The wages of the ſeamen ſhe raiſed, enlarged the number, and heightned the ſalaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners ſkilled in the arts relating to navigation, to inſtruct her people, and by the pains ſhe took in theſe affairs, excited a ſpirit of emulation among her ſubjects, who began every where to exert themſelves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building veſſels of all ſizes, eſpecially large and ſtout ſhips, fit for war, as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. *Camden* tells us, the queen juſtly acquired the glorious title of the RESTORER of NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN of the NORTHERN SEAS; inſomuch, that foreign nations were ſtruck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing reſpectfully to court a power, which had been ſo lately the object of their contempt [k].

THE civil diſſentions in the kingdom of *France*, which gave the court a pretence for oppreſſing thoſe of the reformed religion, whom they called *Huguenots*, produced in the year 1562, very deſtructive conſequences to their neighbours. A general ſpirit of rapine and confuſion

[k] Camden, Annal. vol. i. p. 86. where he ſomewhat exceeds the truth, when he ſays, the queen, with the aſſiſtance of her ſubjects, might fit out a fleet that would require 20.000 ſeamen, ſince in 1582, all the ſea-faring people in her realm did not exceed 14,295. Sir William Monſon's tracts, p. 279.

having ſpread itſelf through the inhabitants of that extenſive kingdom, and the greateſt crimes meeting with impunity, ſuch as dwelt on the ſea-coaſt, and who were moſtly *Huguenots*, fitted out ſhips to annoy their enemies; upon which the court party did the like, ſo that at laſt, pyracies were frequent, and the *Engliſh* trade ſuffered thereby ſo intolerably, that at length the queen reſolved to interpoſe [l]. The *French* proteſtants had long ſued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of *Havre de Grace*, then called *Newhaven*, into her hands; which ſhe at length accepted, and ſent over *Ambroſe Dudley*, earl of *Warwick*, in the month of *September* 1562, with a conſiderable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept poſſeſſion of it till the 29th of *July* following [m]. The taking into our hands this place, proved of infinite detriment to the *French*, for the court having declared all *Engliſh* ſhips good prize, ſo long as the queen held that port, ſhe found herſelf obliged to iſſue a like proclamation, whereupon, ſuch numbers of privateers were fitted out from the *Engliſh* ports, and from *Newhaven*, that the ſpoil they made is almoſt incredible [n]. For example, we are told, that one *Francis Clarke* equipped, at his own expence, three frigates, and after a cruize of ſix weeks, brought into *Newhaven* no leſs than eighteen prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thouſand pounds [o]. But by degrees this ſpirit of privateering grew to ſuch a height, that the queen for her own ſafety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to reſtrain it, thoſe who had fitted out ſhips of force, from a diſpoſition natural

[l] See her manifeſto, publiſhed in Stowe's Annals. [m] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Camden, Rapin. [n] Camden, Holingſhed, Speed. [o] Stowe's Annals, p. 653.

natural enough to privateers, plundering indiſcriminately all veſſels that came in their way.

PHILIP II. king of *Spain*, from the time of queen *Elizabeth*'s acceſſion to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, ſometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others, ſeeking every occaſion to injure and moleſt her ſubjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in *Flanders* [p]. What ſerved alſo to heighten the peoples hatred againſt the *Spaniards* was, the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated captain * *Hawkins* and his crew in the *Weſt-Indies*, an inſult the queen could but very ill bear, though as things were circumſtanced, ſhe could not well reſent it, all trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* being in ſome reſpect repugnant to treaties [q]. Yet, while theſe things diſturbed the nation's tranquility in ſome meaſure, *France* and the low countries, were much more grievouſly torn through religious diſputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war [r]. The proteſtants being the weakeſt, and withal the moſt injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them ſome aſſiſtance, though ſhe was not willing abſolutely to break either with the moſt *Chriſtian*, or with the *Catholick* king. The latter had ſent the duke of *Alva*, to govern the *Netherlands*, who was a fierce and cruel man, but withal a perſon of great courage, an able captain, and a conſummate ſtateſman. This duke, as he was a bitter enemy to the proteſtants, ſo he had conceived probably on that account, a great hatred againſt queen *Elizabeth*, which

[p] Camden, Burnet, Strype, Stowe, Speed. * A. D. 1567.
[q] Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1177. [r] Mezeray, P. Daniel, Baſnage.

he ſoon found occaſion to diſcover. Towards the end of the year 1568, ſome merchants of *Genoa*, intending to have ſet up a bank in the low countries, procured a licence from the king of *Spain* to tranſport thither a very large ſum in ready money, on board certain ſhips belonging to the province of *Biſcay*. Theſe ſhips were chaſed in their paſſage by ſome *French* privateers, and were forced to take ſhelter in the ports of *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*, where, by the queen's order, their veſſels were protected, and thoſe on board them, well treated, till at the requeſt of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, the money was brought aſhore. Cardinal *de Chatillon*, who was at that time here, as a refugee, informed the queen, that this money, did not belong, as was pretended, to the king of *Spain*, but to private merchants, and that in caſe ſhe gave leave for tranſporting it into the *Netherlands*, the duke of *Alva* would certainly ſeize it, in order to carry on ſome of his dark deſigns. The queen, by the advice of her very wiſe and great miniſter *Cecil*, reſolved to defeat this ſcheme, by taking the money to her own uſe, promiſing to repay it immediately, if it ſhould appear to be the king of *Spain*'s treaſure, and to gratify the *Genoeſe* merchants with juſt intereſt, if it was theirs[a]. This was highly reſented by king *Philip*, and the duke of *Alva*; the former by his ambaſſador here, endeavoured to get ſecretary *Cecil* aſſaſſinated, tampering alſo with the duke of *Norfolk*, and the earl of *Ormonde*, to raiſe diſturbances both in *England* and *Ireland*; in which, however, he failed: but the duke of *Alva* ſeized all the *Engliſh* effects

[a] Stowe, Camden, Burnet, Strype, Rapin, life of lord Burleigh, MS.

ſects in *Flanders*, and permitted his frigates and privateers to cruize on the *Engliſh* coaſt. The queen made repriſals in her turn, and allowing her ſubjects to fit out ſhips, they purſued this trade of privateering with ſo much eagerneſs and ſucceſs, that at length they began not to diſtinguiſh friends from foes, upon which her majeſty was compelled to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the purchaſe of any ſhip, or effects taken by theſe privateers. Soon after which, theſe diſputes were compromiſed †, and peace reſtored, though it did not laſt long, both the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh* being generally inclined to break it [t].

In the midſt of all theſe difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people, in proſecuting new ſchemes of trade abroad, or purſuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view ſhe ſometimes contributed ſhips, ſometimes gave money, at others, entered into partnerſhips: in ſhort, ſhe neglected nothing which might ſhew her maternal tenderneſs for all her ſubjects. She likewiſe afforded in a very delicate conjuncture a ſhining proof of her generoſity, in directing a ſtrong ſquadron of her ſhips to eſcort *Anne* of *Auſtria*, in her voyage from *Flanders* into *Spain*, notwithſtanding the bad terms wherein ſhe then ſtood with king *Philip* [u]. Her treaties with *France*, did not hinder her from fortifying *Portſmouth* throughly, in which it quickly appeared, that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needleſs timidity; for the *French* ſoon fitted out a conſiderable fleet, pretending to take ſome offences at the ſupplies ſhe had ſent the *Huguenots*, as if it was contrary to

† A. D. 1573. [t] Camden, Strada, Turquet. [u] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed.

to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her majeſty had provided effectually againſt any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to deſiſt, and even to make greater profeſſions of friendſhip than before, which diſpoſed the queen to ſend over the earl of *Worceſter* to the chriſtning * of the *French* king's daughter [w]. This proved unlucky for the *Huguenots*, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from *Rochelle*, they ſtopt and viſited veſſels of all nations approaching the *French* coaſt: amongſt the reſt, they ſeized a bark with part of the earl of *Worceſter*'s baggage, which they took, and killed three or four people. This being reported to the queen, ſhe iſſued her orders by the lord high admiral to ſcour the narrow ſeas, who appointed *William Holſtock*, Eſq; comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and ſixty men on board, to perform this ſervice, which he did with ſuch induſtry and effect, that between the *Northforeland* and *Falmouth*, he took twenty privateers of ſeveral nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and ſent them as they were taken to *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Newport*, and *Portſmouth*. He likewiſe retook, and ſet at liberty, fifteen merchant-men, by them made prize, and all this within ſo ſhort a time as ſix weeks, returning into *Portſmouth* in the middle of the month of *March*. Among theſe priſoners were three perſons who were known and proved to be of the crew of that veſſel which had plundered the earl of *Worceſter*'s baggage, and therefore they were immediately tried and hanged as pyrates; but the reſt were ranſomed [x]. A few years after the nation found itſelf under the ſame difficulties, though from another quarter.

THE

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* A. D. 1576. [w] Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel, Stowe, Speed. [x] Stowe, Speed, Camden, Strype.

THE provinces of *Zeland* and *Holland* had now delivered themſelves from the *Spaniſh* bondage, and were growing conſiderable in the world by their maritime power. This, however, had a bad effect on the diſpoſition of the common people, who became inſufferably inſolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our correſponding with the inhabitants of *Dunkirk*, who were their enemies. At firſt, therefore, they took only ſuch ſhips as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed ſuch notorious pyracies, that the queen was again forced to ſend the comptroller of the navy, Mr. *Holſtock*, with a ſmall ſquadron to ſea, who quickly drove the *Dutch* frigates into their harbours, and ſent two hundred of their ſeamen to priſon. The queen, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment, ſent Sir *William Winter* and *Robert Beale*, Eſq; to demand reſtitution of the goods taken from her ſubjects, which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the *Dutch* factors here ſuffered ſeverely [y]. But as for refugees of all nations, who fled for the ſake of religion, ſhe not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce their ſtay, and to fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy ſucceeded ſo well, that *Colcheſter*, *Norwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Canterbury*, and many other places were filled with thoſe induſtrious foreigners, who taught us to make variety of ſilk and worſted ſtuffs, while many alſo from *Germany* were ſent into the north, where they employed themſelves in mining, making ſalt-petre, forging

[y] Camden, Strype, Burchet, Sir Walter Raleigh's Eſſays.

ing all ſorts of tools made of iron, which were arts abſolutely unknown to us before their arrival, and which, for ages to come, might have continued ſo, but for the wiſdom and public ſpirit of the queen and her miniſters. The *French* and *Spaniards*, who were ſenſible of the advantages we gained, and the loſſes they ſuffered, by the retiring of their artificers into this iſland, had recourſe to ſevere laws in order to prevent it, which were ſo far from anſwering the end, that they drove people over faſter than they came before; ſo that we may truly ſay, our extenſive trade was a bleſſing, beſtowed by god, for the countenance we afforded in thoſe their diſmal days of diſtreſs, to the afflicted proteſtants in *France* and *Flanders* [z].

THE growth of this kingdom's power and commerce, being ſo conſpicuous, left king *Philip* of *Spain*, the moſt penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for aſſuming the entire dominion of *Europe*, or at leaſt the direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unleſs ſome method could be contrived for ruining *England* at once. While he meditated this deſign, and took various ſteps towards it, he found himſelf daily more and more irritated, by the pains the queen took to fruſtrate his ſchemes, and to diminiſh the power which had been derived to him from his father the emperor *Charles* V. [a]. We have ſhewn, how, during the adminiſtration of the duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, differences had ariſen between the court of *England* and the king of *Spain*'s ſubjects

[z] Mezeray, Strada, Camden, Strype, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, and, in general, all the writers of thoſe times, particularly, ſuch as have made the progreſs of the reformation the ſubject of their writings; though, after all, the point has never been ſo throughly diſcuſſed as it deſerves. [a] Camden, Strype, Rapin.

jects there, and how, after much warmth ſhewn on both ſides, theſe matters were in ſome meaſure acommodated in 1573. That accommodation was ſo far from being the effects of any cordial diſpoſition in either of theſe powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both ſides, neither having as yet brought thoſe things to bear, which were requiſite for fulfilling their deſigns [b]. The catholic king had three points in view, not for diſtreſſing only, but for deſtroying queen *Elizabeth*, and utterly ſubverting the *Engliſh* ſtate [c]. The firſt of theſe was, uniting againſt her, under colour of religion, moſt of the princes and ſtates abroad, which, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, joined to his own extenſive influence, he, in a good meaſure, effected; carrying (as we ſhall hereafter ſee) his diſtaſte ſo far, as to practiſe even with the little republics in *Germany*, to diſturb our commerce, and to affront our government. His ſecond point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popiſh faction, and by maintaining, at a vaſt expence, ſuch fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewiſe proſperous for ſome time, the peace of the kingdom being broken, its ſtrength enervated, the government, nay, the queen's life, often in danger by thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits, who were as aſſiduous in the blackeſt cauſe, as if their induſtry had been prompted by the moſt honourable motives. The laſt thing king *Philip* had at heart, was the providing, as ſecretly as might be, ſuch a force as, with the aſſiſtance of his other ſchemes, might enable him to make himſelf entirely maſter of *England* at once; to which end he with great diligence ſought to increaſe his maritime

[b] Hugo Grotius in Hiſt. Belg. [c] The reader may find a more copious detail of the political motives to the invaſion in 1588, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 512.

maritime power, and under colour of his wars in the *Netherlands*, to keep under the command of the prince of *Parma*, one of the ableſt generals that, or perhaps any other age ever produced, ſuch an army in conſtant readineſs there, as might be ſufficient to atchieve this conqueſt, when he ſhould have a fleet ſtrong enough to protect them in their paſſage. In the proſecution of theſe deep laid projects, *Philip* met with many favourable circumſtances, which might, and very probably did, ſtrongly flatter his hopes; particularly, the death of the queen of *Scots*, that deeply ſtained the character of *Elizabeth* in foreign courts, and his own acquiſition of the kingdom of *Portugal*, by which he gained a vaſt acceſſion of naval ſtrength [d].

QUEEN *Elizabeth* and her miniſters, were too penetrating, and had too quick, as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark, as to the purpoſe of the king of *Spain*, and their prudence was ſuch, that by every method poſſible, they worked to diſappoint him, without ſignifying any of their apprehenſions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign ſtates, that king *Philip* was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at ſubduing all his neighbours, which being a thing ſtrictly true and nearly concerning them, had, undoubtedly, a proper weight [e]. In the next place, pains was taken to cultivate a cloſer correſpondence with his diſcontented ſubjects in the *Netherlands*, and to furniſh them with money, and other private aids, whereby they were enabled to give ſome check to his power, both by ſea and land. Our own privateers, were allowed to paſs into the *Weſt-Indies*, where they

[d] Camden, Buchanan, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Strype, Rapin.
[e] Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 424, as alſo ſuch letters in the cabala, as relate to the year 1587, and 1588.

they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit; for, by this means, they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortreſſes in the *Weſt-Indies*, with the nature of the commerce carried on there, the method of ſharing it by fair means, or of deſtroying it by force [f]. Thus, notwithſtanding their immenſe wealth, and extenſive dominions, the *Engliſh* were in ſome meaſure a match for the *Spaniards* at all points. But ſtill, the great ſecret by which the queen defeated all king *Philip*'s politic inventions, ſeems to have been ſcarce known, to moſt of the writers, who have undertaken to acquaint us with the tranſactions of her reign. It was in reality this; ſhe diſcovered the principal inſtruments he intended to make uſe of for her deſtruction; but inſtead of expoſing or taking them off, ſhe contrived ſo to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfill her purpoſes, though they remained all the time tools and penſioners to *Spain*. Thus ſhe cauſed the embaſſador *Mendoza*, whoſe arts might have been otherwiſe dangerous had he remained here, to be ſo wrought on, as to forfeit his character, by ſuborning perſons to murder ſecretary *Cecil*, and to ſpread libels in the night, through the ſtreets, reflecting on herſelf [g]. The *Spaniſh* emiſſaries, employed to ſeduce her people, in order to form a ſtrong party on any invaſion, ſhe took care to engage in plots againſt her perſon, whereby they became ſpeedily obnoxious to a legal conviction, and ſo brought to an ignominious death, equally terrible and ſhameful to the popiſh faction. This appears clearly by the caſe of *Parry* and other conſpirators, with whom

[f] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hakluyt, Purchas. [g] Camden, Stowe, Speed, and more particularly in the life of lord Burleigh, written by one of his ſervants, and publiſhed by the reverend Mr Peck, in the firſt volume of his Deſiderata Curioſa.

whom her ſecretaries played till their treaſons were ripe, and then ſeized and convicted them; and thus at laſt, after all the pains the king had taken, ſhe eſcaped an invaſion by procuring ſuch notions to be infuſed into the prince of *Parma*'s head, as inclined him rather to ſeek his own than his maſter's advantage, by which ſhe reaped a double benefit, that prince being ſoon after poiſoned, and ſo his particular ſchemes were likewiſe cut ſhort [b]. But it is time to return to our more immediate ſubject, the pains and precautions taken by the queen and her miniſters, to put the nation in ſuch a ſtate of defence, both by land and ſea, as might give the people courage, and ſtrike the enemy with a ſtrong ſenſe of danger; the rather, becauſe theſe facts ſeem hitherto not to have been extremely well underſtood.

THE queen's apprehenſions of the *Spaniards* deſigns, were certainly conceived much earlier than moſt of our hiſtorians imagine, as appears from the ſtate-papers in her reign; among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent, than inſtructions for viewing Fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, enquiring into the ſtrength and poſture of our militia, taking frequent muſters, and, in fine, forming from all theſe enquiries, a brief ſtate of the military and naval power of her dominions, of which I have ſeen many in ancient MSS. amongſt them, one in 1575, whereby it appears, that the able men throughout *England*, were computed to be one hundred, eighty-two thouſand, nine hundred, twenty-nine, by which were intended ſerviceable men; and of ſuch as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were ſixty-two thouſand, four hundred, and ſixty-two; and of light-horſe

[b] Stowe's annals, p. 746.

horſe two thouſand five hundred ſixty-ſix. I have likewiſe an account of the royal navy in 1578, by which it appears, that it conſiſted of no more than twenty-four ſhips of all ſizes [i]. The largeſt was called the *Triumph*, of the burthen of a thouſand tons; the ſmalleſt was the *George*, which was under ſixty tons. At the ſame time, all the ſhips throughout *England*, of an hundred tons and upwards, were but one hundred thirty-five, and all under an hundred, and upwards of forty tons, were ſix hundred and fifty-ſix. I am, therefore, amazed to find a late writer, who ought certainly to be as well acquainted with the ſtate of the navy as any man, give us the following liſt under ſo ſtrange a title as [k],

WHAT OUR NAVY WAS IN 1573.

	Guns.	N°.	
Of	100	1	59 of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in thoſe days.
From	80 to 60	9	
From	58 to 40	49	
From	38 to 20	58	
From	18 to 6	29	
		146	

THOUGH nothing is eaſier than to diſcern at firſt ſight, that this account is abſurd and improbable; yet another writer has copied it implicitly, and no doubt, by degrees, it would gain credit; though, I dare ſay, there is an er-

[i] E Codice antiq. MS. penes Sam. Knight, S. T. P. [k] Mr. Burchet, in his preface to his Naval Hiſtory. See alſo Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 160.

ror of an hundred years at leaſt, in the title of this ſtate of the navy. That it is abſolutely falſe, may appear from hence, that in an eſtimate in the office of ordnance, the guns on board the queen's ſhips, in 1578, are computed to be five hundred and four [l]; whereas, according to the foregoing ſtate, they muſt have been, five years before, as we ſee, no leſs than five thouſand, ninety-nine, which, if we compare with the number of cannon in the *Spaniſh* armada, being but two thouſand, ſix hundred and thirty, as appears by a liſt printed by authority of the *Spaniſh* court, we ſhall have a proper idea of the accuracy of this computation, which I have been forced to treat in this manner, to prevent ſo ſtrange a fact from being longer impoſed even on the moſt unattentive peruſer [m].

As I find authority has ſo great weight with ſome people, that they will not be brought to believe that the naval ſtrength of *England* was ſo inconſiderable at this time, I have thought it neceſſary to inſert *verbatim* the liſt beforementioned in this edition, and to add ſome remarks, which will, I think, put the matter beyond all diſpute.

The names of her Majeſty's ſhips, with the number of men and furniture requiſite for the ſetting forth of the ſame, A. D. 1578.

I. Triumph.		2 Furniture	
1 Men 780 whereof		Harquebus ——	250
Mariners ——	450	Bows ——	50
Gunners ——	50	Arrows, ſheaves of	100
Soldiers ——	200	Pikes ——	200
			Corſlets

[l] E Codice antiq. antecitat. p. 221. in the appendix.

[m] Strype's Annals, vol. iii.

Corſlets —— 100
* Mariners —— 200
3 Burthen 1000

II. ELIZABETH.

1 Men 600 whereof
Mariners —— 300
Gunners —— 50
Soldiers —— 200
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 200
Bows —— 50
Arrows, ſheaves of 100
Pikes —— 280
Bills —— 170
Mariners —— 200
3 Burthen —— 900

III. WHITE BEAR.

1 Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

IV. VICTORY.

1 Men 500 whereof
Mariners —— 330
Gunners —— 40
Soldiers —— 160
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 200
Bows —— 40
Arrows, ſheaves of 80
Corſlets —— 80
Mariners —— 160
3 Burthen —— 803

V. PRIMROSE.

Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

VI. MARY ROSE.

1 Men 350 whereof
Mariners —— 200
Gunners —— 50
Soldiers —— 120
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 125
Bows —— 30
Arrows, ſheaves of 60
Pikes —— 100
Bills —— 120
Corſlets —— 50
Mariners —— 160
3 Burthen —— 600

VII. HOPE.

Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

VIII. BONAVENTURE.

1 Men, 300 whereof
Mariners —— 160
Gunners —— 30
Soldiers —— 110
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 110
Bows —— 30

* A kind of arms in uſe at that time, ſince laid aſide.

Arrows, ſheaves of 60
Pikes —— 90
Bills —— 100
Corſlets —— 50
Mariners —— 100
3 Burthen —— 600

IX. PHILIP and MARY.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

X. LYON.
1 Men 290 whereof
Mariners —— 150
Gunners —— 30
Soldiers —— 110
2 Furniture and Burthen as the two laſt.

XI. DREADNOUHT.
1 Men 250 whereof
Mariners —— 140
Gunners —— 20
Soldiers —— 80
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 80
Bows —— 25
Arrows, ſheaves of 50
Pikes —— 50
Bills —— 60
Corſlets —— 40
Mariners —— 80
3 Burthen —— 400

XII. SWIFTSURE.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

XIII. SWALLOW.
1 Men, 200 whereof
Mariners —— 120
Gunners —— 20
Soldiers —— 60
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 75
Bows —— 25
Arrows, ſheaves of 50
Bills —— 60
Corſlets —— 30
Mariners —— 70
3 Burthen —— 350

XIV. ANTELOPE.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

XV. JENNET.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the two laſt.

XVI. FORESIGHT.
Men and Furniture as the three laſt.
Burthen —— 300

XVII.

XVII. Aid.

1 Men 160 whereof
- Mariners —— 90
- Guns —— 20
- Soldiers —— 50

2 Furniture
- Harquebus —— 50
- Bows —— 20
- Arrows, ſheaves of 40
- Pikes —— 40
- Bills —— 50
- Corſlets —— 20
- Mariners —— 50

3 Burthen —— 240

XVIII. Bull.

1 Men 120 whereof
- Mariners —— 10
- Guns —— 10
- Soldiers —— 40

2 Furniture
- Harquebus —— 35
- Bows —— 15
- Arrows, ſheaves of 30
- Pikes —— 30
- Bills —— 40
- Corſlets —— 20
- Mariners —— 40

3 Burthen —— 160

XIX. Tyger.

Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

XX. Faulcon.

1 Men 80 whereof
- Mariners —— 60
- Guns —— 10
- Soldiers —— 20

2 Furniture
- Harquebus —— 24
- Bows —— 10
- Arrows, ſheaves of 20
- Pikes —— 20
- Bills —— 30
- Corſlets —— 12
- Mariners —— 24

3 Burthen

XXI. Aibates.

1 Men 60 whereof
- Mariners —— 30
- Gunners —— 10
- Soldiers —— 10

2 Furniture
- Harquebus —— 16
- Bows —— 10
- Arrows, ſheaves of 20
- Pikes —— 20
- Bills —— 30
- Corſlets —— 12
- Mariners —— 24

3 Burthen —— 80

XXII. Handmaid.

Men, Furniture and Burthen as the laſt.

XXIII. Bark of Bullen.

1 Men 50 whereof
Mariners —— 30
Gunners —— 10
Soldiers none
2 Furniture
Harquebus —— 12
Bows —— 10
Arrows, ſheaves of 20
Pikes —— 15
Bills —— 20
Mariners —— 30
3 Burthen —— 60

XXIV. George.

1 Men 50 whereof 40
Mariners — 40
Guns —— 10
Soldiers none
2 Furniture
Harquebus — 12
Bows —— 10
Arrows, ſheaves of 20
Pikes —— 15
Bills —— 20
Mariners —— 30

The ſum of all other, as well merchant ſhips as others in all places of *England* of an 100 tuns and upwards 135
The ſum of all barks and ſhips of 40 tun and upwards, to 100 tun 656
There are beſides by eſtimation 100 ſail of hoyes. Alſo of ſmall barks and and fiſhermen an infinite number. So as the number - - - - - through the realm cannot be leſs than 600 beſides *London*.

There cannot be fuller evidence expected for the authenticity of this liſt, than the viſible conformity between it and all the liſts of the queen's ſhips of war, publiſhed in the relations by authority during that reign, and by Sir *William Monſon* in his naval memoirs, with one of which, containing the ſtate of the navy at the queen's demiſe, the reader will find an opportunity of comparing it hereafter. On the other hand, that there could be no ſuch fleet at the time the beforementioned abſtract is dated, will ſtill farther appear from the following conſiderations, that the building

building and maintaining it was utterly inconſiſtent with the ſtate of the public revenue at that time. That there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch force in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times. That all the liſts of ſhips publiſhed by authority directly contradict it; ſo that unleſs we can believe the wiſeſt and moſt active men in thoſe times, were totally ignorant of what it moſt imported them to know, we muſt conclude that this abſtract belongs to another period of time, or that it is a downright chimera, but the former appears to me infinitely more probable than the latter.

It muſt give every attentive reader a very high idea of the wiſdom and fortitude of queen *Elizabeth*, and her miniſters, when he is told, that during the whole time *Spain* was providing ſo formidable an invaſion, they were employed in cheriſhing the commerce and naval power of *England*, without ſuffering themſelves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boaſts, or by the intelligence they had of their great ſtrength and vaſt preparations[n]. To diſtreſs king *Philip* in bringing home his treaſures from the *Weſt-Indies*, many adventurers were licenſed to cruiſe in thoſe ſeas, and the queen herſelf lent ſome ſhips for this purpoſe[o]. To delay the invaſion as much as poſſible, or if it had been practicable to defeat it, the queen ſent a ſtout fleet under Sir *Francis Drake*, in 1587, to *Cadiz*, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced ſix gallies which were deſigned to have guarded the port, to ſhelter themſelves

[n] Camden, Strype, Bohun, Lord Bacon's Character of Queen Elizabeth, Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. [o] Stowe, Hollingſhed, Speed, Camden, Sir Walter Ralegh's Eſſays.

under the cannon of their caſtles, and then burnt a hundred ſhips and upwards in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and proviſions. From thence he ſailed to cape St. *Vincent*, where he ſurprized ſome forts, and entirely deſtroyed all the fiſhing craft in the neighbourhood. Arriving at the mouth of the *Tayo*, and underſtanding that the marquiſs *de Santa Cruz*, lay hard by with a ſquadron of good ſhips, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the marquiſs, who was one of the beſt ſeamen in *Spain*, adhering cloſely to his maſter's orders, choſe rather to let *Drake* burn the coaſt than hazard an engagement. Sir *Francis*, having done this, ſteered for the *Azores*, where he took a large ſhip homeward bound from the *Eaſt-Indies*, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation, and ſo returned home in triumph [p]. This expedition delayed the *Spaniards* for ſome months; but in the ſpring of the next year, this enormous fleet being almoſt ready, king *Philip* gave orders that it ſhould rendezvous at *Lisbon*, in order to paſs from thence to *England*.

His catholic majeſty preſumed ſo much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, ſuperior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that inſtead of concealing its ſtrength, he cauſed a very accurate account of it to be publiſhed in *Latin*, and moſt of the languages ſpoken in *Europe*, except *Engliſh* [q]. This piece was dated *May* 20, 1588, and according to it, the moſt happy *Armada*

[p] Sir William Menſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170. [q] The Title in Spaniſh ran thus, *La felicesſima Armada que el Rey Felipe neyſtro Senior mando Juntaren el puerto de la Cicedad de Lisboa en el Reyno de Portugal; En Anno de mille quinientos y ocenta y ocha. Hecha per Pedro de Pas Salas.*

mada (for ſo it was ſtiled therein) conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, making in all fifty-ſeven thouſand, eight hundred, ſixty-eight ton; on board of which, there were nineteen thouſand, two hundred ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand, four hundred fifty mariners, two thouſand, eighty eight ſlaves, with two thouſand, ſix hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. Beſides, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for ſuch as ſhould join them. There were alſo on board this fleet, one hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty religious perſons of ſeveral orders. The command of the whole was originally deſigned to have been veſted in the marquiſs *de Santa Cruz*, a nobleman of known valour, and great experience, of which he had given high proofs in the famous battle of *Lepanto*; but he dying, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, *Don Alphonſo de Guſman*, was appointed in his ſtead, rather on account of his quality than his merit, under whom ſerved Don *Martinez de Ricalde*, an old experienced *Biſcaneer*, who had the direction of all things, and by whoſe advice the general was entirely led. Theſe great officers repaired to *Lisbon*, in the latter end of the month of *May*, and in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to ſail [r]. But it is now time to return to the diſpoſitions made in *England* for warding off ſo dangerous a blow.

In the firſt place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign ſtates, of the nature and intent of this project of the king of *Spain*'s, pointing out to them, not her own, but their dangers, in caſe that monarch ſhould

[r] Camden, Strype, Rapin.

ſhould prevail, which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wiſely contrived, the king of *Denmark*, at the requeſt of her ambaſſador, laid an embargo on a very ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips hired for the uſe of king *Philip* in his dominions [a]. The *Hanſe-Towns*, determined enemies at that time to *England*, retarded, however, the ſhips they were to have ſent to *Spain*, which though a very ſeaſonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterwards. King *James* VI. of *Scotland* buried all his reſentments for his mother's death, and ſteadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's intereſts. The *French* were too wiſe to afford the *Spaniards* any help, and the *Dutch* fitted out a conſiderable navy, for the ſervice of the queen, under the command of count *Juſtin* of *Naſſau*. The *Engliſh* fleet was commanded by *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*; for his rear-admiral, Sir *John Hawkins*, and abundance of experienced officers, who had ſignalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the weſt-coaſt, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord *Henry Seymour*, in conjunction with count *Naſſau*, cruized on the coaſt of *Flanders*, the better to prevent the prince of *Parma* from making any deſcent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command. Then, as to a land-force, the queen had three armies, the firſt conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, cantoned along the ſouth-coaſt, another of two and twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, which was encamped near *Tilbury*, under the command of the earl of *Leiceſter*; the third, which was made up

[a] Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 524.

up of thirty four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, all choſen men, was for the guard of the queen's perſon, their commander being the lord *Hunſdon*, a brave, active, and reſolute nobleman, the queen's near relation [t].

THE *Spaniſh* fleet ſailed from the river of *Lisbon*, on the firſt of *June*, *N. S.* with as great pomp, and as ſtrong hopes, as any fleet ever did. The king's inſtructions to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, were to repair to the road of *Calais*, in order to be joined by the prince of *Parma*, and then to purſue ſuch further orders as he ſhould find in a ſealed letter delivered to the general with his inſtructions. It was further recommended to him, to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the *French* ſhore, in order to prevent the *Engliſh* from having any intelligence of his approach, and in caſe he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmoſt of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himſelf. But in doubling the *North-cape*, the fleet was ſeparated by foul weather, which obliged the general to ſail to the *Groyne*, where he re-aſſembled his ſhips, and had intelligence that the *Engliſh* fleet was put into *Plymouth*. Upon this he held a council of war, to conſider whether they ſhould adhere ſtrictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the *Engliſh* fleet in their harbour. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was reſolved to attempt the *Engliſh* fleet; and this chiefly at the inſtigation of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, admiral of the *Andaluſian* ſquadron. The pretence, indeed, was very plauſible, and, but for an unforeſeen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The firſt land they fell in with was the *Lizard*, which they

[t] Stowe, Hollingſhed, Speed, Camden, Strype, Rapin, &c.

they miſtook for the *Ram's-head* near *Plymouth*, and being towards night, ſtood off to ſea, till the next morning. In this ſpace of time they were deſcryed by a *Scotch* pyrate, one captain *Fleming*, who bore away immediately for *Plymouth*, and gave the lord admiral notice, which proved the ruin of their deſign, as well as the preſervation of the *Engliſh* fleet [u].

THE ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the *Engliſh* had ſo little intelligence of the *Spaniard*'s departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but ſeveral of their ſhips alſo were already laid up, and their ſeamen diſcharged. The admiral, however, ſailed on the firſt notice, and though the wind blew hard into *Plymouth-Sound*, got out to ſea, but not without great difficulty [w]. The next day, being the 20th of *July*, they ſaw the *Spaniſh* navy drawn up in a half-moon, ſailing ſlowly through the channel, its wings being near ſeven miles aſunder. The admiral ſuffered them to paſs by quietly, that having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and ſucceſs, and though Don *Martinez de Ricalde*, did all that it was poſſible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmoſt diſorder, and many of them received conſiderable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the *Engliſh* fleet lay at too great a diſtance, ſo that the admiral was forced to wait for them. The night following, a *Dutch* gunner, who by ſome *Spaniſh* officers had been ill-uſed, ſet fire to the ſhip on board which was their treaſure;

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[u] Stowe, Hakluyt, Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, Camden.

[w] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 172. Stowe's annals, p. 747. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 591. where there is a compleat narration of this expedition from a dutch writer.

treaſure; nor was it without great difficulty, that the flames were extinguiſhed. The greateſt part of the money was put on board a galleon commander by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, which ſoon after ſprung her foremaſt, and being thus diſabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir *Francis Drake*, who ſent her captain to *Dartmouth*, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men [x]. The next day was ſpent by the *Spaniſh* general in diſpoſing his fleet, giving orders to his officers, and diſpatching an advice-boat to haſten the duke of *Parma*, by giving him an account of the great loſs he had ſuffered, and the danger he was in. On the 23d, they fought again, with variety of ſucceſs, which however demonſtrated to the *Spaniards*, that the great bulk of their ſhips was a diſadvantage to them, their ſhot flying over the heads of the *Engliſh*, while every bullet of theirs took place. On the 24th, the *Engliſh* were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a ſupply arriving in the evening, the admiral made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the *Spaniards* in the dead of the night, dividing his fleet into four ſquadrons, the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by Sir *Francis Drake*, the third by admiral *Hawkins*, and the fourth by captain *Martin Forbiſher*, but a dead calm prevented the execution of this deſign. On the 25th, one of the *Spaniſh* ſhips was taken, and on the 26th, the admiral reſolved to make no farther attempts upon them, till they ſhould enter the *Streights of Dover*, where he knew lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, waited for them with a freſh ſquadron. He alſo took this opportunity of knighting lord *Thomas Howard*, lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*,

[x] Stowe's annals, and Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.

ſend, admiral *Hawkins*, and captain *Forbiſher*, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement [y].

THE wind favouring the *Spaniſh* fleet, they continued their courſe up the channel, with the *Engliſh* ſhips cloſe to their rear. The ſtrength of the *Spaniards* had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation, inſomuch, that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf upon this occaſion, againſt the common enemy. With this view, the earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, Sir *Thomas Cecil*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Vavaſor*, and many others, fitted out ſhips at their own expence, and went, moſt of them in perſon, to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank, ſhewed their zeal and loyalty, by ſending ammunition and proviſions; and ſo unanimous were all men againſt theſe foreigners, that even the papiſts, whom the *Spaniards* expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe off the aſperſions which had been thrown upon them, by ſerving as common ſoldiers. When, therefore, the *Spaniſh* fleet anchored on the twenty-ſeventh of *July* before *Calais*, the *Engliſh* admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ſhips, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely. But, perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the *Spaniards* had ſo diſpoſed their great ſhips, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into diſorder, he reſolved to practiſe an expedient long before thought of, in caſe the enemy ſhould have come up the river *Thames*, which was converting ſome of their worſt veſſels into fire-ſhips. This method he accordingly purſued, filling eight large barks with all ſorts of combuſtible matter

[y] Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, &c.

matter, and ſending them under the command of the captains *Young* and *Prowſe*, about midnight, into the thickeſt part of the *Spaniſh* fleet, where they ſpeedily began to blaze, and, as the admiral had foreſeen, obliged the navy to ſeparate, and each ſhip to ſeek its own ſafety. The next day a large galeaſs ran aſhore on the ſands of *Calais*, where ſhe was plundered by the *Engliſh*. Deſirous, however, of attempting ſomewhat, the *Spaniards* again rendezvouſed near *Graveling*, where they waited ſome time, in hopes the prince of *Parma* would have come out; but in this they were diſappointed, whether through the want of power, or of will, in that great general, is uncertain. At laſt, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the *Engliſh* fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the ſtreights of *Dover*; but the wind, coming about with hard gales at north-weſt, drove them on the coaſt of *Zeland*, but ſoon after veering to the ſouth-weſt, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke *de Medina Sidonia*, took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that there were now no hopes left of ſucceeding, and therefore, that the moſt prudent thing they could do, was to ſave as many ſhips as poſſible [z].

THIS reſolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole *Spaniſh* navy, made all the ſail they could for their own coaſt, going north-about, which expoſed them to exceſſive dangers. The *Engliſh* admiral very prudently ſent lord *Henry Seymour* with a ſtrong ſquadron to cruize on the coaſt of *Zeland*, to prevent

[z] Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, Monſon, Strype.

vent any danger from their joining with the prince of *Parma*, and afterwards left them to purſue their courſe. When the *Spaniſh* fleet arrived on the *Scotch* coaſt, and found that care was every where taken they ſhould meet with no ſupply, they threw their horſes and mules overboard, and ſuch of them as had a proper ſtore of water, bore away directly for the bay of *Biſcay*, with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, making in all about twenty-five ſhips. The reſt, about forty ſail, under the command of the vice-admiral, ſtood over for the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending to have watered at cape *Clare*. On the ſecond of *September*, however, a tempeſt aroſe, and drove moſt of them aſhore, ſo that upwards of thirty ſhips, and many thouſand men, periſhed on the *Iriſh* coaſt. Some likewiſe were forced a ſecond time into the *Engliſh* channel, where they were taken, ſome by the *Engliſh*, and ſome by the *Rochellers*. Several very large veſſels were loſt among the weſtern iſles, and upon the coaſt of *Argyleſhire*. Out of theſe, about five hundred perſons were ſaved, who came into *Edinburgh*, in a manner naked, and out of mere charity, were cloathed by the inhabitants of that city, who alſo attempted to ſend them home to *Spain*: but, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their paſſage upon the coaſt of *Norfolk*, and obliged to put into *Yarmouth*, where they ſtayed till advice was given to the queen and council, who, conſidering the miſeries they had already felt, and not willing to appear leſs compaſſionate than the *Scots*, ſuffered them to continue their voyage [a].

THUS,

[a] Stowe's annals, p. 749. Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 226. in the appendix, Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 608.

THUS, in the ſhort ſpace of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been three years preparing, was deſtroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ſhips, there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked, there periſhed twenty thouſand men at leaſt. We may beſt form an idea of their loſs, from the precaution taken by king *Philip* to hide it, by publiſhing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and conſtancy he expreſſed upon this occaſion, I ſhould be loath to contradict many great authorities; yet this is certain, that the lord treaſurer *Burleigh* received intelligence of another kind, *viz.* that the king ſhould ſay, after maſs, that he would ſpend the wealth of *Spain*, to one of thoſe candleſticks upon the altar, rather than not revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh* [b]. His future conduct agreed ſo exactly with this threatning, that we may well conclude, if he did not ſay, he thought ſo, and was therefore far from being ſo unmoved at this diſaſter as is commonly reported. What might in ſome meaſure juſtify his reſentment, was, the falling out of this miſchief, through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own; for, if the king's inſtructions had been purſued, it is more than probable, that queen *Elizabeth*'s government had run the utmoſt hazard of being overturned. The duke of *Medina Sidonia* eſcaped puniſhmenr, through the intereſt of his wife; but as for don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, whoſe perſuaſions induced the general to take that raſh ſtep, he was arreſted as ſoon as he ſet foot on ſhore, and conducted to the caſtle of St. *Andero*, after which, he was never heard of more. The ſame writer, from whom we have

[b] Strype's annals, 525. Camden's annals, p. 418.

this particular, remarks alſo an error in the conduct of the *Engliſh*, *viz.* that they did not attack the *Spaniſh* fleet after it arrived before *Graveling*, which, however, he aſſures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occaſioned through the negligence of ſome under-officers, who had the direction of the military ſtores, and had been too ſparing of powder and ammunition; otherwiſe, he tells us, it was thought, the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, at the perſuaſion of his confeſſor, would have yielded both himſelf and his ſhips, which, it ſeems, in that particular, were not at all better provided. This would have been a conqueſt indeed, a conqueſt equally glorious and important, the loſs of which, ought to teach poſterity, not to be too haſty in cenſuring great officers, or too remiſs in puniſhing little ones. In the preſent caſe, this miſchance ſeems to have been covered by the many favours beſtowed by providence, and the offenders to have eſcaped through that general joy which their deliverance from ſo great an evil diffuſed through the whole nation [c].

IT ſeems to be injurious to the reputation of thoſe brave men, who on this occaſion atchieved ſuch great things, to give no account of the force of the *Engliſh* fleet, which, however, I find not in any of our general hiſtorians; a deficiency which I ſhall endeavour to ſupply, by adding a liſt collected at that time, and which for any thing I know, has not hitherto been publiſhed [d].

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[c] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 172, 173. Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, Rapin. [d] Communicated to me by the revd. Dr. Knipe, Canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxon.

A LIST *of the* Engliſh FLEET, *in the* YEAR 1588.

MEN of war belonging to her majeſty,	17
Other ſhips hired by her majeſty for this ſervice,	12
Tenders and ſtore ſhips,	6
Furniſhed by the city of *London*, being double the number the queen demanded, all well-manned, and throughly provided with ammunition and proviſion,	16
Tenders and ſtore-ſhips,	4
Furniſhed by the city of *Briſtol*, large and ſtrong ſhips, and which did excellent ſervice,	3
A tender,	1
From *Barnſtaple*, merchant-ſhips converted into frigates,	3
From *Exeter*,	2
A ſtout pinnace,	1
From *Plymouth*, ſtout ſhips every way, equal to the queen's men of war,	7
A fly-boat,	1
Under the command of lord *Henry Seymour*, in the narrow ſeas, of the queen's ſhips and veſſels in her ſervice,	16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry, and commons of *England*,	43
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ſhips, and excellently well furniſhed,	10
Sir *William Winter*'s pinnace,	1
In all	143

THE queen having intelligence that the *Spaniards* meditated a ſecond attempt upon her dominions, reſolved like a wiſe princeſs to find them work at home, in order to which, in the ſpring of the year 1589, ſhe expreſſed her royal intention of aſſiſting don *Antonio* to recover his kingdom of *Portugal* [e]. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's expence, and partly at the expence of private perſons. Her majeſty furniſhed ſix men of war, and ſixty thouſand pounds: Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Norris*, were joint commanders, who with their friends adventured fifty thouſand pounds: the reſt of the charges was defrayed by *London*, the *Cinque-Ports*, *Ipſwich*, *Harwich*, *Newcaſtle*, &c. and the whole navy conſiſted of a hundred and forty-ſix ſail [f]. To which alſo the *Dutch* joined a ſmall ſquadron [g]. The firſt exploit they performed was landing near *Corunna*, commonly called the *Groyn*, which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval ſtores, defeated a great body of *Spaniards*, and then reimbarked their forces, and ſailed, as they had firſt deſigned, for the river of *Liſbon* [h]. On their arrival before *Peniche*, the troops were landed, and the place quickly ſurrendered to don *Antonio*; and from thence Sir *John Norris* with the earl of *Eſſex*, and the whole army under their command, marched by land towards *Liſbon*, where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir *Francis Drake*; but, he finding it impoſſible to proceed up the river with ſafety to her majeſty's ſhips, ſtaid at the caſtle of

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[e] Camden, Stowe, Rapin. [f] Stowe's Annals, p. 752. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, Camden, Strype, Rapin. [g] Burchet, p. 355. [h] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Camden, Sir William Monſon.

of *Caſtais*, which place he took, and alſo ſeized ſixty ſail of ſhips belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*, laden with corn and ammunition, which with about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage[i]. It was intended, indeed, to have gone to the *Canaries*; but by this time the ſoldiers and ſailors were ſo weakned with ſickneſs, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their paſſage home they landed at *Vigo*, took and plundered it, and having made ſome addition to their booty reached *England*, Sir *Francis Drake* arriving at *Plymouth* on the twenty-firſt of *June*, and Sir *John Norris* with the reſt of the fleet on the 3d of *July*, after having been about ten weeks abroad[k].

THIS expedition was inexpreſſibly deſtructive to the *Spaniards*, diſappointed all their deſigns, weakned their naval force, and ſpread a mighty terror of the *Engliſh* arms through their dominions. But as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconſiderable, and the generals met with a cold reception in *England*; Sir *John Norris* charging Sir *Francis Drake* with breach of his promiſe, and Sir *Francis* accuſing him of expecting ſervices that were impracticable from the fleet. The chief grounds of their miſcarriage were in thoſe days, when men could beſt judge, held to be theſe. Firſt, they were but indifferently manned, and victualled, of which they were very ſenſible before they were out of the channel. Secondly, their landing at the *Groyne* was contrary to their inſtructions, gave the

[i] See all the before-cited authors who write copiouſly of this affair, and yet memoir-writers aſcribe this miſcarriage to the variance between our generals.

[k] Stowe's Annals, p. 757. Holingſhed, Speed, Camden, Rapin.

men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and expoſed them to a great and unneceſſary loſs. Thirdly, the diſagreement of the generals before *Liſbon*, defeated the remaining part of their deſign, and obliged them to think of coming home ſooner than they intended, or was neceſſary; whereas, if in purſuance of their inſtructions, they had ſailed directly to the coaſts of *Portugal*, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable, they had placed don *Antonio* upon the throne of *Portugal*, which would have given a mortal wound to the power of *Spain*, and muſt have greatly promoted the intereſt and commerce of *England* [l].

THE diſappointments which happened in this voyage, did not diſcourage either the queen or her ſubjects from purſuing the war by ſea, and endeavouring as much as poſſible to ruin the maritime force of *Spain*, and augment their own. In order to this, her majeſty ſettled a part of her revenue for the ordinary ſupply of the navy, amounting to about nine thouſand pounds a year, and by expreſſing a very high eſteem for ſuch young lords, and other perſons of diſtinction, as had ſhewn an inclination to the ſea-ſervice, ſhe encouraged others to undertake yet greater things [m]. Amongſt theſe, the earl of *Cumberland* particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for fitting out a ſtout ſquadron, in the ſummer, of the year 1589, he ſailed with them to the *Tercera-iſlands*, where he did the *Spaniards* incredible damage, and obtained conſiderable advantages for himſelf,

[l] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. 175. Stowe's Annals, p. 757. in which we find that on their return, the ſoldiers and ſailors thought of making themſelves amends for their diſappointments, by plundering Bartholomew-fair. [m] Camden. Sir R. Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia. Lord Bacon in his character of queen Elizabeth.

himſelf, and for his friends. The iſland of *Fayall* he reduced, took the city and caſtle, from whence he carried forty-five pieces of cannon; forced the iſland of *Gracioſa* to a compoſition, and took ſeveral rich ſhips; amongſt the reſt, one, the cargo of which was valued at upwards of an hundred thouſand pounds, which in his return, however, was loſt in *Mount's-Bay*, on the coaſt of *Cornwall*[n]. In 1590, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Martin Forbiſher* were at ſea with two ſquadrons, and by interrupting the return of the *Spaniſh* plate-fleets from *America*, and other ſervices, kept king *Philip* entirely employed at home, tho' his thoughts were ſtill buſy in contriving another expedition againſt *England*. The ſucceeding year, lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſon to the duke of *Norfolk*, ſailed with a ſquadron to the iſlands, in hopes of intercepting the *Spaniſh* fleet from the *Weſt-Indies*, which was now forced to return home. In this, he had probably ſucceeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than ſeven of the queen's ſhips, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly eſcaped being totally deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*. For king *Philip*, knowing the dreadful conſequences that muſt have followed, in caſe his plate-fleet was intercepted, reſolved to employ that force, which was intended againſt *England*, for its relief, and accordingly ſent an experienced ſeaman with a fleet of forty-five ſail to attack lord *Thomas Howard*, who very narrowly eſcaped them. His vice-admiral, Sir *Richard Greenville*, in the *Revenge*, was taken through his own obſtinacy; for, when the enemy was in ſight, he would not be perſuaded that it was the *Armada*, but inſiſted that

[n] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hakluyt, Sir William Monſon.

it was the *American* fleet, and ſo was ſurrounded. He ſold his life and his ſhip, which was the only one of the queen's taken in the war, dearly; for a man of war called the *Aſcenſion*, of *Seville*, and a double fly-boat, full of men ſunk by his ſide. The *Revenge* was ſo battered, that ſhe could not be carried into *Spain*, but ſunk at ſea with two hundred *Spaniards* on board; and as for Sir *Richard Greenville*, he died two days after he was taken, of his wounds. The very next day the plate-fleet arrived, which ſhews the uncertainty of expeditions of this kind; for, had it come one day ſooner, or had the *Armada* been one day later, the *Engliſh* had poſſeſſed themſelves of an immenſe treaſure. Yet the *Spaniards* gained very little by their dear-bought ſucceſs; for in their return home, near a hundred veſſels were wrecked, and the greateſt part of the wealth on board them was loſt, while lord *Thomas Howard*, with his little fleet ſtill kept the ſea, and by picking up ſtragglers, ſaved the expences of his expedition *. In 1591, the earl of *Cumberland* made another expedition; and in 1592, Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, and Sir *John Boroughs*, infeſted the *Spaniſh* coaſt, and did much miſchief. In 1594, the queen ſent a ſmall ſquadron to ſea, under the command of Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, to reduce the port of *Breſt* in *Bretagne*, which the king of *Spain* had taken, by the aſſiſtance of the *Leaguers* in *France*, from king *Henry* IV. a place that if it had been long kept, would have given the *Spaniards* great advantages againſt us. It was ſtrong, both by ſituation, and by the art and expence employed in fortifying it, and had, beſides, a numerous garriſon of *Spaniſh* troops. Sir *John Norris*, with

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* Camden, Rapin, Sir William Monſon, p. 178, 179.

a ſmall *Engliſh* army, formed the ſiege by land; Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, and having thus blocked up the place by ſea, landed his ſailors, and in conjunction with Sir *John Norris*, ſtormed the fort, which, though gallantly defended, was taken; but with the loſs of abundance of brave men, and amongſt them, Sir *Martin* himſelf, who died of the wounds he received in that ſervice. The ſame year ſir *Francis Drake* and ſir *John Hawkins* ſailed on their laſt expedition into the *Weſt-Indies* [p].

THE *Spaniards*, who ſeldom abandon any deſign they once undertake, were all this time employed in fitting out another fleet for *England*; and as an earneſt of their intenſions, in the year 1595, don *Diego Brochero*, with four gallies, arrived in *Mount's-Bay*, in *Cornwall*, and landing with all his men, burnt three little places, *viz.* *Mouſe-Hole*, *Newlin*, and *Penzance*, with a neighbouring church; but without killing or taking ſo much as a man [q]. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invaſion of the *Spaniſh* dominions, to prevent any future viſits to her own; in order to which, a ſtout fleet and a numerous army were provided, under the moſt experienced officers of thoſe times.

THE true deſign of this expedition, was, to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* fleet in the port of *Cadiz*, and to make themſelves maſters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, in all not leſs than a hundred and fifty ſail, of which, one hundred twenty-ſix were men of war, but of

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[p] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. [q] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

of theſe, only ſeventeen were the queen's ſhips, the reſt were hired and fitted up for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet, were embarked upwards of ſeven thouſand men[r]. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the earl of *Eſſex*, and the lord high-admiral (*Howard*) aſſiſted by a council of war, compoſed of the following honourable perſons, *viz.* lord *Thomas Howard*, ſir *Walter Raleigh*, ſir *Francis Vere*, ſir *George Carew*, and ſir *Conyers Clifford*. There was beſides, a *Dutch* ſquadron, under the command of admiral *Van Duvenvoord*, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for ſome time at *Plymouth*, till all things could be got ready, and then, on the firſt of *June* 1596, ſailed for the coaſt of *Spain* with a fair wind, and the good wiſhes of all their countrymen [s].

In their paſſage they were divided into five ſquadrons; and whereas, in former expeditions, great inconveniencies had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence, in this they were ſo happy as to arrive in ſight of *Cadiz* on the twentieth of the ſame month, before they were either looked for, or ſo much as thought of. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle. In the port were fifty-nine *Spaniſh* ſhips, amongſt them many laden with treaſure, and nineteen or twenty gallies. It was reſolved the ſame day in a council of war, to have landed all their forces at St. *Sebaſtian*'s; but when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable. After this, ſome time was loſt in coming to another reſolution, which was owing to the joint command; for the earl of *Eſſex*, who was young and warm, affected to dictate,

[r] Stowe's Annals, p. 771. Holingſhed, Speed, &c. [s] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hakluyt, Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

ſtate; and on the other hand, the admiral, who had as much courage, and much more experience, could not brook being treated in ſuch a manner. At laſt, it was determined to attack the ſhips in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty aroſe, which was, who ſhould command this attack, firſt demanded by the earl of *Eſſex*, then given to ſir *Walter Raleigh*, laſtly challenged and enjoyed by the vice-admiral, lord *Thomas Howard*. In the execution of it, ſome errors were committed by the *Engliſh*, through too great heat and emulation of their commanders; but others more groſs and fatal by the *Spaniards*, who, when they found themſelves compelled to fly, did it without any precaution, whereby they might have provided for their ſafety; for inſtead of running their ſhips aſhore under the town, where they might have been covered by their own artillery, and where at leaſt their men might have gone aſhore in ſafety, they ran them up the bay, as far from the enemy as poſſible; by which means, part fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, and the reſt were burnt [t].

In the mean time the earl of *Eſſex* landed his men quietly, the enemy deſerting a ſtrong fort, from which they might have done him much miſchief; three regiments alſo were ſent to make themſelves maſters of the bridge which unites the iſland to the main. This they performed with very ſmall loſs, but afterwards quitted it again, which gave the gallies an opportunity of eſcaping; another

[t] See the relation at the end of the firſt volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, ſaid to be written by a perſon who was in the expedition; as alſo a better copy of the ſame relation in Stowe's Annals, p. 771. See likewiſe Sir William Monſon's account and obſervations on this voyage in his Tracts, p. 184.

another overſight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed alſo with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordſhip could have kept the place; and while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, ſir *Walter Raleigh* was ſent to ſeize the ſhips in the harbour of *Port-Real*, to prevent which, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* cauſed them to be ſet on fire, and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the ſea [u]. The city and its forts they poſſeſſed for a fortnight, and the earl of *Eſſex* was very deſirous of being left there with a garriſon, however ſmall; which was, notwithſtanding, over-ruled by the council of war, and then it was agreed to ſail to *Faro*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*, where they found the place deſerted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could become plunder. To repair this diſappointment, the earl of *Eſſex* was for ſailing to the *Azores*, and there waiting for the *Eaſt-India* ſhips; but in this too he was over-ruled, becauſe there was a great complaint of the want of proviſion and ammunition on board their fleet. In their return, they looked into the ports of the *Groyne*, St. *Andero*, and St. *Sebaſtian's*, where they expected to find ſhips, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened, till their arrival in *England*, which was on the 8th of *Auguſt* the ſame year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred braſs guns, and an immenſe booty, the deſire of keeping which, is conceived to have hindered them from performing more. But with reſpect to the damage done the *Spaniards*, it is not eaſy to form any computation thereof. However, this we know, that

[u] Camden. Stowe, Speed, Holingſhed, Hakluyt, Monſon.

that they burnt eleven men of war, forty ſhips from the *Indies*, four large merchant-men beſides, and many magazines of ammunition and proviſion; ſo that, however the people might murmur here at home about the miſcarriage of this voyage, as from the writings in thoſe times it manifeſtly appears they did, yet taking all things together, it anſwered very well, and diſtreſſed the enemy exceſſively [y].

In the ſpring of the year 1597, the king of *Spain* fitted out a freſh *Armada* from *Liſbon*, compoſed not only of his own ſhips and gallies, but alſo of all that he could take up, and hire in *Italy*, or elſewhere. On board of theſe, he embarked a great body of troops, eſpecially of the *Iriſh*, intending to have invaded both *England* and *Ireland*; but the winds diſappointed him, ſcattered his fleet, and thirty ſix ſail were caſt away. In the mean time the queen reſolved to fit out another fleet, under the command of the earl of *Eſſex*, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the *Azores*, after burning ſuch veſſels as were in the harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*. This fleet conſiſted of forty men of war, and ſeventy other ſhips, to which the *Dutch* added ten men of war, under ſir *John Van Duvenvoord*, who was knighted in the former expedition [z]. They ſailed from *Plymouth* the 9th of *July*; but a ſtorm ariſing, they were forced back thither again, and did not ſail the ſecond time till the 7th of *Auguſt*. They uſed their beſt endeavours to perform the firſt part of their inſtructions, but finding it impracticable

[y] See Sir William Monſon's remarks, and compare them, with the apology of the earl of Eſſex; as alſo with the account given by Mr. Oldys, in his excellent life of Sir Walter Raleigh. [z] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hakluyt, Monſon.

impracticable, they thought it expedient to ſteer for the iſlands, which accordingly they did. In this voyage ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s ſhip ſprung a maſt, which, however, did did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loſs, from proceeding to the place of rendeſvouz, which was the iſland of *Flores*. He had ſcarce began to wood and water there, before the earl of *Eſſex* ſent him orders to follow him to *Fayal*, which iſland the general himſelf intended to attempt. *Raleigh* obeyed him; but not finding *Eſſex* on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were ſecuring their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation neceſſary for their defence, he with the advice of his officers reſolved, in caſe *Eſſex* did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the iſland, which accordingly he performed; but tho' he got reputation by this exploit, yet he loſt the general's friendſhip, ſo that a coldneſs thence forward prevailed, which afterwards encreaſed to open hatred [y].

AFTER *Eſſex*'s arrival they ſailed together to *Graciosa*, which immediately ſubmitted. Here the general intended to have ſtayed, and if he had done ſo, undoubtedly it had anſwered his purpoſe, and he had taken the whole *Spaniſh* fleet; but being a perſon too eaſily wrought to alter his purpoſes, he took another method, which gave the *Spaniards*, who arrived the next day, an opportunity of proceeding for *Tercera*, with the loſs of no more than three ſhips, which were taken by ſir *William Monſon* [z]. The reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of about thirty-ſeven ſail, arrived

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[y] See Sir William Monſon's reflections upon this expedition, the life of Sir Walter Raleigh before cited, and Stowe's Annals, p. 783. [z] Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 365, and all the old hiſtorians before cited.

arrived ſafely in the port of *Angra*, which was well defended by ſeveral forts, ſo that on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with ſucceſs.

THE earl of *Eſſex*, vexed at this diſappointment, reſolved to do ſomewhat of conſequence before he returned, and therefore landing, ſurprized the town of *Villa Franca* and plundered it, after which he reimbarked his forces, and prepared for his return home [a]. In his paſſage he had the good luck to take a very rich *Spaniſh* ſhip, which fell into his fleet, miſtaking it for their own, and had taken another in the ſame manner, but for the imprudence of a *Dutch* captain, who firing haſtily upon her frighted her away. In the mean time, the *Spaniards* were meditating great deſigns. The abſence of the *Engliſh* fleet gave them an opportunity of ſending out their ſquadrons from the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*. With theſe they intended to have made a deſcent in *Cornwall*, and to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the port of *Falmouth*, in which leaving a ſtrong garriſon, they thought next of intercepting the *Engliſh* fleet in their return, when they knew it muſt be weakened by ſo rough and troubleſome an expedition, in which ſo long a ſpace of time had been ſpent, and their ſhips were to return ſo late in the year. This deſign, as it was wiſely laid, ſo it was well conducted; the *Spaniſh* admiral joined his ſquadons as he intended, and proceeded with them to the iſlands of *Scilley*, almoſt within ſight of our ſhore. There he thought fit to call a council of war, in order to give his officers neceſſary inſtructions as to the intended

[a] See a copious account of this expedition written by Sir Arthur Gorges, who was employed therein, in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrim, p. 1935.

intended deſcent. But it ſo happened, that, while his captains were on board, a very high ſtorm aroſe, which hindered them a long time from getting back to their reſpective ſhips, and afterwards entirely ſeparated their fleet, toſſing them to and fro, ſometimes on our coaſt, ſometimes on their own. In this ſtorm eighteen capital ſhips were loſt, ſeveral forced into *Engliſh* ports were taken, and the *Spaniſh* admiral's ſchemes thereby entirely diſconcerted. Nor did our fleet eſcape the fury of this tempeſt, but were terribly beaten; however, their ſhips being light and ſtrong, and manned by able ſeamen, they with much difficulty reached our weſtern coaſt in the latter end of the month of *October* [b]. The compaſs of this work, I confeſs, ought to deter me from digreſſions; but as the principal intention of it is to give the reader a juſt and impartial notion of the conduct of our naval affairs under every reign, ſo I think myſelf obliged to make a few ſhort reflections on the facts before ſet down, in order to ſhew how little we ſtood indebted for our ſafety to the management of our own commanders, or the faults of our enemies, and how much we owe to the care of divine providence, which a heathen would have called the fortune of queen *Elizabeth*.

THIS expedition to the *Azores* might have proved, if well managed by us, the ruin of the *Spaniſh* power, and as it was managed, had very near been fatal to our own; ſo much depends on the conduct of commanders, and ſo little regard ought there to be had to title and quality, where the ſafety of a nation is at ſtake. The earl of *Eſſex* was choſen for this command from court-motives, ſuch

[b] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin.

ſuch as his birth, intereſt, and perſonal accompliſhments; though he wanted almoſt all the qualities requiſite for a commander in chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not laſting or reſolute; his wit was quick, but his judgment ſlow and unſettled; and beſides all this, he wanted experience. Sir *William Monſon*, who went the voyage with him, and who appears enough inclined to favour him, owns that their miſcarriage was entirely owing to his lordſhip's incapacity, who was unable to form any right reſolution of himſelf, or to purſue ſteadily any meaſures recommended to him by thoſe who were more knowing than he [c]. Sir *Walter Ralegh* fell into diſgrace with him, and, as ſir *William Monſon* ſays, had ſmarted ſeverely, if the earl had not been afraid of being called to an account for it in *England*, and all this for doing his duty, for performing the only important ſervice done in the whole expedition. This demonſtrates, that the earl had no view but to his own particular glory, and that the public ſervice was to be poſtponed whenever it came in competition therewith. By this management that plate-fleet eſcaped, which, if it had been taken, would have ruined the *Spaniards* and made us. His ſubſequent attempts to repair his own honour, and to make a ſhew of that reſolution which he really had not, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the *Spaniſh* admiral an opportunity of invading *England*, which an accidental ſtorm prevented. So much is due to truth, and to the intereſt of the nation; nor would I have this looked on as flowing from any pique to the memory of the earl of *Eſſex*, who was certainly a popular nobleman, endowed with

[c] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 191.

many virtues: but where the public ſuffers, an hiſtorian ought to ſpare no man, however ſupported by the favour of his prince, or magnified by the folly of the people[4].

In 1598, the earl of *Cumberland* fitted out a ſquadron of eleven ſail at his own expence, with which he firſt attempted to intercept the *Liſbon* fleet in its paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*. Being diſappointed in this, he ſailed to the *Canaries*, where he made a deſcent on the iſland of *Lancerota*, plundered it, and then proceeded for *America*, where he promiſed himſelf great things. The place he fixed upon was the iſland of *Puerto Rico*, where he landed, and took the capital with ſmall loſs. This city he determined to keep, and therefore refuſed a very large ranſom offered him by the inhabitants, whom he turned out, and then thought of fortifying the place, with an intent to have cruiſed from thence upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt; but he was quickly convinced that the deſign was impracticable, diſeaſes ſpreading amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conqueſt, and to return home with reputation rather than reward[5].

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it ſeems rather with an intent to watch the *Spaniards*, than to undertake any enterprize of importance; ſince after remaining about three weeks in the *Downs* it was laid up again. Yet this fleet had a great effect upon *Spain*, and all the Powers of *Europe*, for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well-victualled, and

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[4] The reader may be convinced of the truth of what is above aſſerted, by comparing the relation of Sir Arthur Gorges, before-cited, with Sir William Monſon's account in his naval tracts, and what is ſaid on the ſame ſubject by Mr. Oldys, in his life of Sir Walter Ralegh.

[5] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Monſon, Burchet.

and throughly manned, which ſhewed the ſtrength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved ſince 1588 [f]. The next year, being 1600, Sir *Richard Lewſon* was ſent to intercept the plate-fleet, which deſign though it was well contrived and wiſely executed, yet failed [g]. In 1601, the ſame admiral was employed in *Ireland*, where he did good ſervice, in obliging the *Spaniards*, who had landed a conſiderable body of forces, to relinquiſh their deſign, and withdraw out of that iſland [h]. In 1602, the ſame admiral in conjunction with Sir *William Monſon*, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the *Dutch* had ſent their ſquadron, purſuant to their engagements with the queen [i]. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they continued on the coaſt of *Portugal*, and at length reſolved to attack a galleon which lay with eleven gallies in the road of *Carimbra*, which was one of the moſt gallant exploits performed in the whole war, and therefore deſerves to be circumſtantially related. The town of *Carimbra* was large and well built with free-ſtone, defended by a good citadel well furniſhed with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, ſtood an abbey, ſo fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored cloſe to the ſhore, ſo as to defend by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had ſo flanked and fortified themſelves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the *Engliſh* fleet, without receiving any damage themſelves,

[f] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 195. [g] Camden Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Monſon. [h] Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 197. [i] Camden, Holingſhed, Burchet.

till ſuch time as our ſhips were juſt before the town. Yet, in ſpite of this and many other diſadvantages, the *Engliſh* admirals reſolved to attack them, which they did on the third of *June*. A gale of wind blowing freſh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the ſignal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and ſoon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the *Spaniards* defended themſelves with much reſolution, yet in the end ſeveral of the gallies were burnt, the garriſon driven from the caſtle, and the rich galleon, for which this ſtruggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board [k]. This was the laſt great exploit performed by ſea in this reign; for the queen now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the twenty-fourth of *March* following, in the forty fifth year of her reign, and in the ſeventieth of her life, when ſhe had ſettled the proteſtant religion throughout her kingdom, had reſtored the crown to its ancient reputation, ſupported her allies with the greateſt firmneſs, and humbled her enemies, ſo as to compel them to think of ſolliciting for peace.

The

[k] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 199, 200, 201.
[l] Camden, Lord Bacon in his character of queen Elizabeth, and in his diſcourſe of peace and war, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin.

The names of ſuch ſhips as her majeſty left at her death.

Names of ſhips.	*Tunnage.*	*Men in harbour.*	*Men at ſea where of,*	*Mariners,*	*Gunners,*	*Soldiers.*
Elizabeth Jonas	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mer-Honeur.	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulſe	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warſpight	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary Roſe	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Hope	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Lion	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftſure	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow	330	10	160	114	16	30
Foreſight	300	10	160	114	16	30
The Tide	250	7	120	88	12	20
The Crane	200	7	100	70	10	20
Adventure	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance	200	7	100	70	10	20
Anſwer	200	7	100	70	10	20
Advantage	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tyger	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tramontain		6	70	52	8	10
The Scout	120	6	60	48	8	10
The Catis	100	5	60	42	8	10
The Charles	70	5	45	32	6	7
The Moon	60	5	40	30	5	5
The Advice	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Spy	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Merlin	45	5	35	26	5	4
The Sun	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet	20	2	—	—	—	—
George Hoy	100	10	—	—	—	—
Pennyroſe Hoy.	80	8	—	—	—	—

HER attention to trade appears in many inſtances, ſome of which it may not be amiſs to treat more particularly. The merchants of the *Hanſe-towns* complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the treatment they had received in the days of king *Edward* and queen *Mary*; to which ſhe very prudently anſwered, *That as ſhe would not innovate any thing, ſo ſhe would protect them ſtill in the immunities and condition ſhe found them*, which not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of *Engliſh* merchants; for they trying what they could do themſelves herein, their adventures and returns proving ſucceſsful, they took the whole trade into their own hands, and ſo divided themſelves into ſtaplers and merchant-adventurers; the one reſiding conſtant at ſome one place, the other keeping their courſe and adventuring to other towns and ſtates abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This ſo nettled the *Hanſe*, that they deviſed all the ways that a diſcontented people could, to draw upon our new ſtaplers or adventurers, the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates; but that proving of too ſmall a force to ſtop the current of ſo ſtrong a trade as they were now run into, they reſorted to ſome other. They applied themſelves to the emperor, as being a ſociety incorporated into the empire; and upon complaint, obtained ambaſſadors to the queen, to mediate the buſineſs, but they returned *re infecta*. Hereupon the queen cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, that the merchants of the *Hanſe* ſhould be entreated, and uſed as all other ſtrangers in her dominions, in point of commerce, without any mark of diſtinction. At laſt, the *Hanſe-Towns* prevailed ſo far as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the *Engliſh* merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was anſwered by a proclamation

tion, in conſequence of which, ſixty ſail of their ſhips were taken in the river of *Lisbon*, laden with contraband goods for the uſe of the *Spaniards*. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as deſiring to have compromiſed all difference with thoſe trading cities; but when ſhe was informed that a general aſſembly was held at the city of *Lubeck*, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the *Engliſh* trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and their cargoes to be confiſcated; only two of them were releaſed to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings. After this, *Sigiſmund* king of *Poland* interpoſed in their behalf, ſending hither an ambaſſador, who talking in a very high ſtile, the queen, in her anſwer, told him plainly, that the king his maſter made no right eſtimate of his own power, and that himſelf was very little fit for the employment in which ſhe found him [m]. Thus were we ridded for ever of foreign factors, and our own merchants eſtabliſhed in the right of managing our own commerce. In the latter end of her reign, ſome diſputes happening with the king of *Denmark*, and he moſt unadviſedly ſeizing the *Engliſh* ſhips that were in his ports, the queen ſent one Dr. *Parkins* to demand ſatisfaction; which he did in ſo peremptory a ſtile, that the *Dane* was glad to compound the matter for forty thouſand dollars, which he paid her majeſty, and which ſhe cauſed to be divided among the merchants who were injured [n].

THESE are inſtances of her noble ſpirit in obtaining redreſs of grievances in foreign countries, even in the moſt

[m] Camden, Stowe, Molloy *de jure maritimo*, Book ii. cap. 12.
[n] Stow's Annals, p. 787.

perillous times, and when her affairs were in the utmoſt embarraſſment. As to her care of trade and navigation in her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in 1563, an act was made for the better regulation, maintainance, and increaſe of the navy[o]; and in 1566, there was a law to enable the maſter, wardens, and the aſſiſtants of the trinity-houſe, to ſet up beacons and ſea-marks[p]. The ſame year there paſſed an act for incorporating, and more effectually eſtabliſhing the company of merchant adventurers[q]. In 1581, there likewiſe paſſed an act for the increaſe of mariners, and for the maintainance of navigation, and more eſpecially, for recovering the trade to *Iceland*, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred ſail of ſtout ſhips[r]. In 1585, the queen erected by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to *Barbary*[s], and in the year 1600, ſhe incorporated a ſociety of merchants trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*[t], whence the preſent *Eaſt-India* company is derived, as will be hereafter ſhewn. Beſides theſe marks of her royal favour, and ſtrict attention to the commerce of her ſubjects, the queen afforded others continually, by ſending envoys and agents to the *Czar*, to the *Shah* of *Perſia*, to ſeveral great princes in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and in ſhort, wherever her interpoſition could be of any uſe to open, to promote, or recover any branch

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[o] See the Statute, Anno 1 Eliz. cap. 5. [p] Anno viii. Eliz. cap. 13. [q] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 394. [r] An. xxii. Eliz. cap. 7. [s] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 114. [t] Dated at Weſtminſter, Dec. 31 A. R. 43. and recited at large in Purchas. vol. i. lib. iii. p. 144.

branch of traffic, as appears by all the hiſtories that are extant, of her reign [a].

But the peculiar glory of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign in this reſpect, was the great care ſhe took of the coin, which, as we have ſhewn, was dreadfully debaſed in the reigns of *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. and tho' her ſiſter had put an entire ſtop to this bad practice, yet the circumſtances of her affairs were very far from being ſuch, as admitted her taking any meaſures towards an entire amendment, the baſe coin continuing to have a currency, tho' it began to ſink in its value; which however did not hinder foreigners from pouring in vaſt quantities of that mixed money, to the great detriment of the nation, and this, notwithſtanding that princeſs expoſtulated with her neighbours upon that ſubject, and her doing all ſhe could to hinder it. But immediately after the acceſſion of queen *Elizabeth*, the lord *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, whoſe papers upon that head are yet extant, interpoſed with the queen, and ſhewed her clearly the bad conſequences of a debaſed coinage, and farther informed her, that it was not the ſhort ends of wit, or ſome ſlight and temporary devices that could ſuſtain the expence of a great monarchy, but ſound and ſolid courſes. I make uſe of their expreſſions, which tho' not elegant, are very emphatic. They therefore exhorted her to purſue the ſteps of her great grandfather *Edward* IV. and rejecting all expedients as ineffectual in themſelves, and unworthy of her, to ſtrike at the root of the evil.

She took their advice, and by a proclamation in the ſecond year of her reign, called in all the debaſed money, direct-

[a] Camden, Bacon, Oſborne, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin.

directing it to be marked with a greyhound, portcullis, lyon, harp, roſe, or flower-de-lys, to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral intrinſic values of the pieces, it being her deſign to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural eſtimation of money; and therefore ſhe directed, that foreign coin and bullion ſhould be brought to her mint, as there was from eight thouſand to twenty two thouſand pound every week, and about the like quantity of gold in *Spaniſh* piſtols for the ſpace of about ſix months, when ſhe repaid her ſubjects, the full value of the ſilver, in new money of that ſtandard, which has ſince continued, and which was fixed after mature deliberation, and with a juſt regard to the value ſilver and gold had attained in foreign countries at that time. In the very next year, the majority of her council were for undoing all again, by introducing a freſh debaſement, but the lord *Burleigh*, then Sir *William Cecil*, and ſecretary of ſtate, withſtood this, as he did every other project of that kind, ſo long as he lived, with ſuch vehemence of ſpeech, and with ſuch ſtrength of argument, as kept the queen ſteady to her firſt meaſure.

WHEN this great undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the queen took occaſion to tell her people in a proclamation, that ſhe had now conquered *that monſter* which had ſo long devoured them, and it is very wiſely recited in the preamble of an act of parliament, in the fifth year of her reign, "that by her great goodneſs new "money had been coined of the ſame fineneſs, as in the time "of her noble progenitors." Neither was this *famous act*, as ſhe herſelf called it, upon another occaſion forgot, in the inſcription placed upon her monument, where after mention being made of reſtoring religion to its primitive ſincerity, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquility, it follows *that*

ſhe

ſhe reduced the coin to its juſt value. Hence we may perceive how great an action this was, and of what laſting benefit to the kingdom.

It may, however, contribute not a little to our ſatisfaction, if we enquire what quantity of coin, both gold and ſilver there might be in the nation toward the cloſe of her reign, that is, at the beginning of the laſt century, becauſe it is of very great conſequence to have a juſt notion of what was the nation's ſtock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in ſilver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then if we conſider that ſhe recoined almoſt all the ſilver ſpecie of the kingdom, and that there was a ſmall alteration in the ſtandard in the latter end of her reign, which raiſed ſilver from five ſhillings, to five and two-pence an ounce, which occaſioned a new fabrication; ſo that much of the former coin came to the mint again as bullion: we may, with the judicious Dr. *Davenant*, eſtimate the ſilver coin at that time in this kingdom, at two millions and a half, to which if we add the gold of her own and her predeceſſors coin, and eſtimate this at a million and a half, we may be pretty ſure that we are not much wide of the truth, and that one hundred and fifty years ago, the current coin of *England* amounted in the whole, to four million or thereabouts.

As the reſtoring the coin was in effect putting the firſt wheel in motion, ſo this being thus early ſet right, all the ſubordinate parts of general commerce began quickly to reſume their reſpective forces, and the willingneſs which the queen ſhewed upon every occaſion, to facilitate whatever deſigns were formed for improving her dominions, employing her ſubjects, and venting the produce of their induſtry;

duſtry, had ſuch effects, that, by degrees, one thing opening a way to another, the face of affairs ſoon changed. All the complaints that were formerly made, gave place to a general approbation of the queen's government, amongſt the better part of her ſubjects, that is, amongſt thoſe who were willing to help themſelves by their honeſt and chearful endeavours to enlarge their properties, and to turn to the utmoſt advantage, the laudable deſire which their ſovereign expreſſed, of encouraging whatever could be invented, for promoting their welfare, and augmenting the publick ſtock.

THIS diſpoſition in the queen, excited a like ſpirit throughout the whole nation. Not only perſons bred to trade, and ſome of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for diſcoveries, and planted new-found countries; but even perſons of the firſt diſtinction, became encouragers and adventurers in thoſe deſigns, ſuch as the lord-treaſurer *Burleigh*, the earl of *Warwick*, the earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. and ſome of them actually engaged in the execution of ſuch projects, amongſt whom were the earls of *Cumberland*, *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, &c. [w]. and therefore we need not wonder at the ſurprizing increaſe of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this ſort, within ſo ſhort a period of time. Let us mention only a few. In 1575, Sir *Humphry Gilbert* attempted the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage. In 1557, Sir *Martin Frobiſher* ſought one to the north-eaſt [x]. *Pet* and *Jackman* ſailed on a like deſign in 1580, by the direction of the governor of the company

[w] Hakluyt's, Monſon's, and Purchas's collections conſiſt chiefly of inſtances of this ſort. [x] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 32.

pany of merchant-adventurers [y]. An expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, in order to ſettle *Florida*; nor did it miſcarry through any error of the undertaker [z]. The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* would have ſettled *Virginia* in 1584, if prudence, induſtry, and public ſpirit could have effected it; but though he failed in their extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, ſince he laid the foundation of that ſettlement which hath ſince ſo happily ſucceeded. But it is now time to ſpeak of thoſe great men by whom theſe celebrated actions were atchieved, and firſt of,

CHARLES HOWARD, *baron of* Effingham, *afterwards earl of* Nottingham, *knight of the garter, and lord high-admiral of* England.

WE have already ſeen two brothers of this illuſtrious family of *Howard*, ſucceſſively lord high-admirals, and we are now to ſpeak of another *Howard*, who arrived by merit at the ſame high honour, and, which is more, was alſo the ſon of a lord high-admiral of *England* [a]. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of king *Henry* VIII. his father having the title only of lord *William Howard* [b]. His mother's name was *Margaret*, the daughter of Sir *Thomas Gamage*, of *Glamorganſhire*, lord *William* being raiſed to the title of baron of *Effingham*, and

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[y] Ibid. vol. i. p. 445. [z] See a full account of this matter in Sir George Peacham's relation, who was concerned therein. [a] See the lives of Sir Edward, and Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and uncle to this noble lord. [b] Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. M. S.

and admiral; his ſon ſerved under him in ſeveral expeditions, till the acceſſion of queen *Elizabeth*, when he was about twenty-two years of age [a]. His father coming into great favour with that princeſs, he enjoyed a ſhare of it, and in 1559, was ſent over into *France*, to compliment king *Charles* IX. who had juſt aſcended that throne [b]. Nine years afterwards, he was general of the horſe, in the expedition made by the earl of *Warwick*, againſt the earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, who had taken arms in the north, and in cruſhing whoſe rebellion he was very active [c]. In the following year, he commanded a ſquadron of men of war, which, as we before obſerved, the queen was pleaſed ſhould eſcort *Anne* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, to the coaſt of *Spain* [d]. Upon this occaſion, the *Spaniſh* fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the *Britiſh* ſeas, having been ſufficiently inſtructed in the ceremonial in their paſſage to *Flanders*, by Sir *John Hawkins*, as the reader will find at large, related in our memoirs of that gallant ſeaman. In 1571, he was choſen to parliament as knight of the ſhire for the county of *Surry*, and very ſoon after, ſucceeded his father in his title and eſtate, who died *January* 12, 1572, in the great office of lord privy-ſeal, and very highly in the queen's favour [e].

THE queen diſtinguiſhed the ſon, as ſhe had done the father, by raiſing him to the higheſt offices in the kingdom; not haſtily, but by a due progreſſion. He became firſt chamberlain of the houſhold, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of *April*, 1573, he was elected

[a] Dugdale's baronage, &c. [b] Camden's annal. p. 54. [c] Holingſhed, p. 1212. [d] Camden. annal. 220, 221. [e] Holingſhed, p. 1257.

elected knight of the garter [h]. Some of the writers of thoſe times ſay, that he was raiſed to check *Leiceſter*'s greatneſs; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the moſt oppoſite people in the world in their tempers [i]. For, whereas, *Leiceſter* was a deep diſſembler, exceſſively ambitious, and one who ſought to govern all things; the lord chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, publick-ſpirited man, in the good graces of the queen, from his known affection to her perſon, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hoſpitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the ſake of his moſt noble, moſt loyal and heroic family. When therefore the earl of *Lincoln* died, in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raiſe the lord *Effingham* to the poſt of high-admiral, which ſhe did, with the general approbation of her ſubjects, and much to the ſatisfaction of the ſeamen, by whom he was exceſſively beloved [k].

WHEN the *Spaniards* had ſpent three years in preparing their *armada*, the queen willingly entruſted the care of herſelf and the nation, to this noble lord, of whoſe conduct, and whoſe fortune ſhe had equal hopes. We have already ſeen how happily that important conteſt ended for the honour of this nation; here, therefore, we are to ſpeak only of what was perſonally performed by the admiral. As ſoon as he knew that the *Spaniſh* fleet was ready to ſail, he put to ſea, and continued cruiſing for ſome time, till the court having received advice, that the *Spaniards* would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon rendring this probable, ſecretary *Walſingham* wrote to him, directing, that four of the largeſt ſhips ſhould be

[h] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [i] Lloyd's State-worthies, p. 736. [k] Camden. annal. p. 451.

be ſent into port, and the ſeamen diſcharged, to ſave expence. The admiral wrote back to excuſe his not obeying this direction, and in the cloſe of the letter, deſired, that if his reaſons were thought inſufficient, the ſhips might remain at his expence [l]. When he received intelligence from captain *Fleming* of the approach of the *Spaniſh* fleet, and ſaw of what mighty conſequence it was to get out what few ſhips were ready in the port of *Plymouth*, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himſelf, but wrought alſo with his own hands, and with *ſix ſhips only*, got the firſt night out of *Plymouth*; and the next morning, having no more than thirty ſail, and thoſe the ſmalleſt of the fleet, attacked the *Spaniſh* navy [m]. He ſhewed his conduct and prudence, by diſpatching his brother-in-law, Sir *Edward Hobby*, to the queen, to imform her of the great diſproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to deſire her to make the proper diſpoſition of her land-forces, for the ſecurity of the coaſts, and to haſten as many ſhips as poſſible to his aſſiſtance [n]. His valour he diſcovered in the repeated attacks he made on a ſuperior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his paſſing a whole night in the midſt of the *Spaniſh* fleet, and retiring as ſoon as he had light enough to diſcover his own, without loſs [o]. It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence, that the victory was ſo great; and ſuch as have ſuggeſted that it might have been ſtill greater, readily acknowledge, that this did not happen through any fault of the admiral's, who always ſhewed

[l] Ibid. p. 720. [m] See the account of this victory printed in the firſt volume of Hakluyt's collection. [n] Stowe's annals, p. 747. [o] Hakluyt vol. i. p. 597.

ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity in his country's ſervice [p]. The queen acknowledged his merit in the moſt honourable terms, and, though extremely frugal, rewarded him with a penſion for life [q]; and at his requeſt, granted a pardon and a penſion to captain *Fleming*, the pyrate, who firſt brought the news of the *Spaniſh* fleet's being on our coaſts; which I mention, to ſhew, how careful this great man was, that the merits of meaner perſons ſhould not paſs unrewarded or be over-looked [r].

Sir *Richard Hawkins*, in his obſervations, has a very remarkable paſſage, in relation to this noble perſon, which the reader will, no doubt, be very well pleaſed, to ſee in his own words.

"Worthy of perpetual memory, ſays he, was the "prudent policy and goverment of our *Engliſh* navy, in "*Anno* 1588, by the worthy earl of *Nottingham*, lord "high-admiral of *England*, who, in like caſe, with ma-"ture and experimented knowledge, patiently withſtood "the inſtigations of many couragious and noble captains, "who would have perſuaded him, to have laid them "aboard; but well he foreſaw, that the enemy had an ar-"my aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in num-"ber of ſhipping, and thoſe greater in bulk, ſtronger built, "and higher molded; ſo that they, who with ſuch advan-"tage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all oppoſi-"tion below, the ſlaughter, peradventure, proving more "fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown; "he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the

[p] See the reflections made by Sir William Monſon on this action, in his Naval Tracts. [q] Camden, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.
[r] Stowe's annals, p. 795.

" conqueſt (at moſt) he could have boaſted of nothing but " glory and an enemy defeated. But by ſufferance, he al- " ways advantaged himſelf of wind and tide, which was " the freedom of our country, and ſecurity of our navy, " with the deſtruction of theirs, which in the eye of the " ignorant (who judge all things by the external appear- " ance) ſeemed invincible, but truly conſidered, was much " inferior to ours in all things of ſubſtance, as the event " proved; for we ſunk, ſpoiled and took many of them, " and they diminiſhed of ours but one ſmall pinnace, nor " any man of name ſave only captain *Cocke*, who died " with honour amidſt his company. The greateſt damage, " that as I remember, they cauſed to any of our ſhips, " was, to the *Swallow* of her majeſty's, which I had, in " that action, under my charge, with an arrow of fire, " ſhot into her beak-head, which we ſaw not, becauſe of " the ſail, till it had burned a hole in the roſe, as big as a " man's head: the arrow falling out, and driving along " by the ſhip's ſide, made us doubt of it, which after we " diſcovered ".

In 1596, he commanded in chief at ſea, as the earl of *Eſſex* did at land, the forces ſent againſt *Spain*, and was at very great expence in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation amongſt the ſeamen and ſoldiers, were the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs the *Engliſh* met with in that attempt; and his conduct throughout the whole, was ſo wiſe and fortunate, that upon his return home, the queen, on the twenty-ſecond of *October*, the ſame year, advanced him to the dignity and title of earl of *Nottingham* (being deſcended from the family of *Mowbray*, whereof ſome had

been

been earls of that county) the reaſons whereof are thus inſerted in his patent [s].

"THAT, by the victory obtained, *anno* 1588, he "had ſecured the kingdom of *England* from the invaſion "of *Spain*, and other impending dangers; and did alſo, "in conjunction with our dear couſin *Robert*, earl of *Eſ-* "*ſex*, ſeize by force the iſle, and ſtrongly fortified the ci- "ty of *Cadiz*, in the fartheſt part of *Spain*; and did like- "wiſe entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the king of "*Spain*, prepared in that port againſt this kingdom".—— An honourable preamble! but leſs needful in that reign, than in any other, ſince it was well known, that queen *Elizabeth* parted not with titles till they were deſerved, and where ſhe knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this caſe it did; for the earl of *Nottingham*, on his firſt going to the houſe of peers, was received with unuſual marks of joy, ſufficiently teſtifying how worthy the beſt judges eſteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen ſhortly after added another, making him juſtice-itinerant of all the foreſts ſouth of *Trent* for life [t].

THE next great ſervice in which the earl of *Nottingham* was employed, was in 1599, when the ſtate was in very great danger. On the one ſide, the *Spaniards* ſeemed to meditate a new invaſion, and ſome conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having aſſembled a great fleet at the *Groyne*, on board of which many *Engliſh* fugitives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the earl of *Eſſex*, who was then lord-lieutenant of *Ireland*, acted in a ſtrange manner, treating with the rebels he was ſent to reduce, and forming ſome deſigns of employing the

[s] Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3. [t] Pat. 39. Eliz. p. 1.

troops with the command of which he was entruſted by the queen, to the diſturbance of her government. Her majeſty, who always placed her ſafety in being too quick for her enemies, iſſued her orders to the city of *London*, to furniſh immediately ſixteen ſhips for the reinforcement of the navy, and ſix thouſand men for her ſervice by land. The like directions being ſent into other parts of the kingdom, ſuch a fleet, and ſuch an army, were drawn together in a fortnight's ſpace, as took away all appearance of ſucceſs from foreign and domeſtic enemies; and to ſhew the confidence ſhe had in the admiral's fidelity and capacity, ſhe was pleaſed to repoſe in him the ſole and ſupreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND, an office unknown to ſucceeding times, and which he held with almoſt regal authority for the ſpace of ſix weeks, being ſometimes with the fleet in the *Downs*, and ſometimes on ſhore with the forces [u].

THE unfortunate earl of *Eſſex*, having taken a ſudden reſolution to leave his command in *Ireland*, and return to *England*, the queen thought fit to puniſh this contempt with a ſhort reſtraint, and afterwards ſeemed inclined to have received him again into favour; but he, either hurried on by his own raſh diſpoſition, or inſtigated thereto by ſome deſperate perſons about him, attempted to raiſe a force ſufficient to have compelled the queen to do what he thought expedient, and failing in this, retired with ſuch as were about him to *Eſſex-Houſe* in the *Strand*, where he fortified himſelf, and confined the chancellor, the chief juſtice of *England*, and other privy counſellors, ſent by the queen,

[u] Camden. annal. p. 794. Stowe's annals, p. 778. Holingſhed, Speed, Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

queen, to enquire into the grievances he pretended. This was on the eighth of *February* 1600; and the queen ſaw herſelf (in the decline of her life, and after ſhe had triumphed over foreign foes in the utmoſt peril, from an aſſuming favaurite, who owed all his credit to her kindneſs, and who had thus attempted a rebellion in her capital) on the point of being impriſoned or depoſed. In this perillous ſituation, ſhe had recourſe to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the lord admiral, who, ſhe often ſaid, *was born to ſerve, and to ſave his country* He performed, on this occaſion, as on all others, the utmoſt the queen could expect; for he reduced the earl of *Eſſex* to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was content to yield himſelf, and when he had ſo done, the lord high admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindneſs poſſible [w]. The ſame year, the admiral was appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of earl-marſhal of *England* [x], and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleaſed to declare her intention, as to the ſucceſſion, in favour of the king of *Scots* [y].

Upon the acceſſion of king *James*, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large ſhare of that prince's confidence, but was likewiſe made choice of to officiate as lord high-ſteward at the ceremony of the coronation [z]. Soon after this, he was named ambaſſador to the court of *Spain*, for the concluſion of a ſtrict intercourſe of friendſhip with that crown, in purſuance of the treaty made at *London* the eighteenth of *Auguſt* 1604, wherein alſo his lordſhip was an acting commiſſioner. It

[w] Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed, Camden, Sir Walter Raleigh's life by Mr. Oldys. [x] Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in dorſo. [y] Camden, &c. [z] Pat. 1 Jac. 1. p. 18.

was very requiſite, that much ſtate ſhould be kept up in this embaſſy; and therefore the earl of *Nottingham* was thought of, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generoſity of his temper, and the number of his dependants, who were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he ſet out for *Spain*, with a retinue wherein were ſix peers and fifty knights, and for the ſupport of this great train, he had an appointment of fifteen thouſand pounds, which fell, however, very far ſhort of his expences. During the time that he reſided at the court of king *Philip* III. he was treated with the utmoſt deference and reſpect, maintained, to the admiration of the *Spaniards*, his dignity, and did the higheſt honour to the nation. At his departure, the king of *Spain* made him as many preſents as amounted to twenty thouſand pounds [a].

ON his return, he was not ſo well received at court as he had good reaſon to expect; which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to the king's, himſelf being injured, and his maſter abuſed, by falſe reports, that the admiral, while in *Spain*, had aſſumed more ſtate, and acted with leſs precaution than became him [b]. However, he quickly recovered his maſter's good graces, attended on the lady *Elizabeth* when ſhe was married to the elector *Palatine*, and afterwards convoyed her with the royal navy to *Fluſhing* [c]. This was the laſt ſervice he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he ſhould reſign his office to the new favourite *Villiers*, at that time earl, and afterwards duke, of *Buckingham*. Some of the memoir-writers

[a] See the ſecond volume of Winwood's memorials, p. 69.
[b] Ibid. p. 91, 92. [c] Wilſon's life of king James in Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 690, 691.

ters of thoſe days, treat this matter in a way prejudicial to the king's memory, diſgraceful to *Buckingham*, and not much for the reputation of the earl of *Nottingham* [d]. It appears, however, upon due conſideration, that moſt of theſe ſtories are very ill founded, and that in reality, the earl of *Nottingham* laying down his poſt, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneaſy to him, or capable of fixing any diſgrace on his maſter. The propoſition came firſt from himſelf, and was very eaſily agreed to. His eſtate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of *Murray*, for whom he was deſirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he conſented to reſign, were theſe, that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown ſhould be remitted [e], that he ſhould have an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds [f]; and that, as earl of *Nottingham*, he ſhould take place in the houſe, according to the deſcent of his anceſtors, and not as a new made peer [g]. Theſe terms were quickly adjuſted. The duke went in perſon to ſee him, and to return him thanks for reſigning in his favour, at the ſame time that he made the young counteſs a preſent of extraordinary value, he carried his reſpect to this venerable old man, as far as poſſible, calling him always *father*, and bending his knee when ever he approached him. Beſides all this, Sir *Robert Manſel*, who had been once the earl of *Nottingham*'s menial ſervant, but then vice-admiral during pleaſure, by the favour of the duke, had that office con-

[d] See the writer laſt mentioned, and the court and character of king James, by Sir A. W. p. 123. [e] Camden's annals of king James, p. 651, 653. [f] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 169. [g] Camden's annals of king James, p. 653.

firmed to him for life by patent, which his old maſter took ſo kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made *Buckingham* a viſit to return him thanks [h]. On the whole, therefore, there ſeems to be nothing diſhonourable in this tranſaction; for all parties were ſerved, and all ſeem to have been content. What is ſaid to the contrary, flows evidently from a deſire of prejudicing the world againſt the memory of men, from ſurmiſes and conjectures; a method of all others the moſt deſtructive of the end and fruit of hiſtory, which ought to diſcover the truth, and thereby inſtruct ſuch as peruſe it.

THE remaining years of his life were ſpent by the earl of *Nottingham* in honourable eaſe and retirement to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on the 14th of *December* 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old [i]. He was a perſon extremely graceful in his appearance, of a juſt and honeſt diſpoſition, incapable either of doing bad things, or ſeeing them done without expoſing them. His ſteady loyalty to the crown preſerved his reputation unſtained, and his fortune unhurt, when the reſt of his family were in the utmoſt danger [k]. Queen *Elizabeth* knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of ſome of her greateſt favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in ſuiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on thoſe occaſions, wherein ſhe made choice of this nobleman, whoſe courage no danger could daunt, whoſe fidelity no temptation could impeach, much leſs corrupt. In public employments

[h] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170. [i] From a MS. catalogue of nobility deceaſed, in the reign of king James I. [k] Camden, ſir Robert Naunton in his Fragmenta Regalia, Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 751.

employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hoſpitality in private life, keeping ſeven ſtanding houſes, as Dr. *Fuller* phraſes it, at once [l]. It is true, we meet with oppoſite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, eſpecially in the latter part of his life; but as theſe are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced againſt him of whom he ſpeaks; and as the rough ſoldier-like behaviour of *Elizabeth*'s active times, ſuited little with the ſtiff and ſolemn air of the ſtateſmen in king *James*'s court, we need not wonder, that among theſe the earl of *Nottingham* met with ſome detractors [m]. His actions are ſufficient to ſilence envy, and to deſtroy the credit of malicious cenſures. He who beat the *Spaniſh Armada*, equipped a fleet ſufficient to aſſert the ſovereignty of the ſea in a fortnight's time, and by his preſence alone diſpirited the earl of *Eſſex*'s adherents, muſt have been a very extraordinary man, though we ſhould grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expreſſed himſelf a little bluntly, and, though a man of ſo high quality, had little or no tincture of thoſe arts which tho' they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have placed his memoirs here, becauſe, though he died in the reign of king *James*, he ſpent his life in the ſervice of queen *Elizabeth*. He was indeed, the king's ambaſſador in *Spain*; but as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great ſtateſman, I thought it but juſt to place his memoirs where they might do him moſt honour. For the ſame reaſon I refer thoſe of ſir *Walter*

[l] Engliſh Worthies, Surry, p. 84.

[m] The reader will find enough of this in a letter of the earl of Northampton to ſir Charles Cornwallis, ambaſſador in Spain, Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 91.

Walter Ralegh to the ſucceeding reign, becauſe the laſt action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under king *James*. But it is time to reſume the thread of our diſcourſe, and to proceed to an account of,

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT, *knt. an eminent ſeaman, and great diſcoverer.*

THIS gentleman was deſcended of a very ancient and honourable family in *Devonſhire*, ſeated there at leaſt as early, and, if ſome writers are to be credited, even before the conqueſt [n]. His father's name was *Otho Gilbert*, of *Greenway*, Eſq; his mother, *Catherine* daughter of ſir *Philip Champernon*, of *Modbury*, in the ſame county, who afterwards married *Walter Ralegh* of *Fardel*, Eſq; and by him was mother to the famous ſir *Walter Ralegh*, half brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing [o]. He was but a ſecond ſon, though his father, having a good eſtate, left him a conſiderable fortune. It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf in an age fruitful of great men [p]. His genius naturally led him to the ſtudy of coſmography, navigation, and the art of war; which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he ventured himſelf early in the ſervice of his

[n] Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonſhire, by ſir J. Northcote, bart. MS. [o] Sir William Poles deſcription of Devonſhire. [p] See the dedication of Mr. Hooker's diſcourſe of ſir John Gilbert.

his country, and acquired a very juſt reputation from his actions, before he ſet any of his great projects on foot [q].

THE firſt place wherein he was taken notice of for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring courage, was in the voyage to *Newhaven*, wherein he behaved with ſo much prudence, and his attempts were attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that, though then but a young man, he was much talked of, and raiſed high expectations in all who knew him. In ſeveral expeditions undertaken in thoſe troubleſome times, he added to his fortune, as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in diſcourſe and with his pen, to render a reaſon for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be conſidered by ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in the court of queen *Elizabeth*, as one capable of rendering his country great ſervice, particularly in *Ireland*, where men of true abilities were much wanted [r]. Their conceptions concurring with Mr. *Gilbert*'s views, and with that ambition of making himſelf known by great atchievements, which was the ruling paſſion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and paſſing over into that iſland, became preſident of *Munſter*, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the *Iriſh*, than any *Engliſhman* employed in that ſervice. By his induſtry and addreſs, he compoſed the ſtirs raiſed by the *Mac Carthies*, and by his valour and activity, drove the *Butler*'s out of his province, when they ſwerved from their duty. He likewiſe forced *James Fitz-Morris*, the greateſt captain amongſt the *Iriſh*, to abandon his coun-

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[q] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. [r] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626.

country [s], and ſeek for ſafety abroad, and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother ſir *Walter Ralegh*, which would well deſerve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my deſign: but as we mention him only as a ſeaman, it will be unneceſſary to dwell on ſuch actions of his life, as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us haſten to the propoſals he made for diſcovering a paſſage by the north to the *Indies*, in which he laboured as rationally and as aſſiduouſly, though at the ſame time as unſucceſsfully, as any man in the age in which he lived.

IT is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquited the honour of knighthood, before his return out of *Ireland*, or not: there are authorities on both ſides [t]; but I incline to think, that he received that honour from ſir *Henry Sidney*, deputy of *Ireland*, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to *England* till ſome years afterwards [u]. The firſt diſcovery he made both of his knowledge, and of his intentions, was in his diſcourſe to prove that there is a north-weſt paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which was firſt printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written ſome time before [w]. It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the cloſe of it, there is an account of another treatiſe of navigation, which he had written and intended to publiſh, and which is now probably loſt. The deſign of this diſcourſe was, to ſtir up a ſpirit of diſcovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate

[s] Stowe's Annals, p. 812. Life of ſir Walter Ralegh, &c.
[t] Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire, wherein he firſt places his knighthood, A. D. 1570, afterwards 1577; but in both aſſerts from ſir William Pole's MS. that it was conferred by queen Elizabeth, p. 327. [u] Supply of Iriſh chronicles by Hooker, p. 132.
[w] This treatiſe is ſtill preſerved in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 11.

facilitate a deſign he had formed, for planting unknown countries, as well as for the diſcovery of this north-weſt paſſage, for that he ſtill had this, among other projects in view, is plain from the letters patent granted to his brother *Adrian Gilbert*, in 1583. For the preſent, however, he adhered to his deſign of planting, and with that view, procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at *Weſtminſter*, *June* 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the weſtern diſcovery of *America*, and to inhabit and poſſeſs any lands hitherto unſettled by chriſtian princes or their ſubjects [x].

IMMEDIATELY on the procuring theſe letters patent, ſir *Humphry* applied himſelf to the getting partners in ſo great an undertaking, wherein at firſt he ſeemed to be highly ſucceſsful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander, throughly eſtabliſhed; yet, when the project came to be executed, many flew of from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, ſeparated themſelves, and choſe to run their own fortunes in their own way [y]. Theſe misfortunes, however, did not hinder ſir *Humphry* from proſecuting his ſcheme, in which alſo he was ſeconded by his brother ſir *Walter Raleigh*, and a few other friends of unſhaken reſolution. With theſe, he ſailed to *Newfoundland*, where he continued but a ſhort time, and being then compelled to return, he in his paſſage home, met with ſome *Spaniſh* veſſels, from whom he cleared himſelf with great difficulty. This ſeems to have been in the ſummer of 1579; but we have a very dark account of it, without

[x] This patent is alſo extant in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135. [y] See Mr. Haies's account in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 145.

out dates or circumſtances, further than thoſe which have been already given [a]. Yet his miſcarriage in this firſt undertaking of his, was far from diſcouraging him; for after his return, he went on as chearfully as he had done before, in procuring freſh aſſiſtance for compleating what he intended, and for promoting chriſtian knowledge, by the means of *Engliſh* ſettlements, in undiſcovered lands. This conduct ſufficiently ſhewed not only the ſteadineſs of his courage, but the extent of his credit, ſince after ſuch a diſappointment, another commander would ſcarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which however, was not his caſe [b].

One thing which haſtened his ſecond expedition, was this, that though his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clauſe in it, by which it was declared void, in caſe no poſſeſſion was taken within the ſpace of ſix years. This term drawing to a cloſe, ſir *Humphry* in the ſpring of the year 1583, haſtened his friends in their preparations, ſo as by the firſt of *June*, his little fleet was in a readineſs to ſail. It conſiſted of five ſhips. I. *The Delight*, of the burthen of 120 tons, admiral, in which went the general, ſir *Humphry Gilbert*, and under him captain *William Winter*. II. *The Bark Ralegh*, a ſtout new ſhip, of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned, and victualled at the expence of ſir *Walter*, then Mr. *Ralegh*, under the command of captain *Butler*. III. *The Golden Hinde*, of 40 tons, rear-admiral, commanded by captain *Edward Hayes*, who was alſo her owner. IV. *The Swallow*, of like burden, commanded by captain *Maurice Brown*. V. *The Squirrel*,

[a] See the life of ſir Walter Ralegh, by Mr. Oldy's, p. 13.
[b] As appears by ſir George Peckham's relation of ſir Humphry's voyage. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 165.

Squirrel, of the burden of 10 tons, under the command of captain *William Andrews* [b]. They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the 11th of *June*, and on the 13th, the *Bark Raleigh*, returned, the captain and moſt of thoſe on board her falling ſick of a contagious diſtemper. On the 30th of the ſame month, the reſt of the fleet had ſight of *Newfoundland*. On the 3d of *Auguſt*, they landed, the general read his commiſſion, which was ſubmitted to by all the *Engliſh* veſſels upon the coaſt; and on the 5th, he took poſſeſſion of the harbour of St. *John*, in the name of the queen of *England*, and granted, as her patentee, certain leaſes unto ſuch as were willing to take them. At the ſame time a diſcovery was made of a very rich ſilver mine, by one *Daniel*, a *Saxon*, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpoſe [c]. Sir *Humphry* now inclined to put to ſea again, in order to make the beſt uſe of his time in diſcovering as far as poſſible; and having ſent home *The Swallow*, with ſuch as were ſick, or diſcouraged with the hardſhips they had undergone, he left the harbour of St. *John*'s in 47° 40. N. L. on the 20th of *Auguſt*, himſelf in the ſmall ſloop called, *The Squirrel*, becauſe being light, ſhe was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; captain *Brown*, in *The Delight*, and captain *Hayes*, in *The Golden Hinde*. On the 27th they found themſelves in the latitude of 45°; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue ſo, yet on the 29th of *Auguſt*, in the evening, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, wherein *The Delight* was loſt, twelve men only eſcaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to ſir *Humphry Gilbert*, not only with reſpect to the value of the

[b] Ibid. p. 148. [c] Ibid. p. 154.

the ſhip, and the lives of the men, but alſo in regard to his future hopes; for in her, he loſt his *Saxon* miner, and with him, the ſilver ore which had been dug in *Newfoundland*, and of which he was ſo confident, as to tell ſome of his friends, that upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thouſand pounds of the queen for his next voyage [d].

On the ſecond of *September*, he went on board *The Golden Hinde*, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and thoſe who were in that veſſel, did all that in them lay, to perſuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, affirming, that he would never deſert his bark, and his little crew, with whom, he had eſcaped ſo many dangers. A generous but fatal reſolution! for the veſſel, being too ſmall to reſiſt the ſwell of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas, about midnight, on the ninth of *September*, was ſwallowed up, and never ſeen more [e]. In the evening, when they were in great danger, ſir *Humphry* was ſeen ſitting in the ſtern of the ſhip with a book in his hand, and was often heard to ſay with a loud voice, *Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at ſea, as at land.* Thus he died like a chriſtian hero, full of hope, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience. Mr. *Edward Haies*, who accompanied ſir *Humphry* in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms that he was principally determined to his fatal reſolution of ſailing in the *Squirrel*, by a malicious report

[d] Ibid. p. 155.

[e] Ibid. p. 158. See alſo an account of his death, with ſome remarks thereon, and the danger of launching out mens private fortunes in ſelling colonies, Camd. Annal. p. 402.

port that had been ſpread of his being timerous by ſea [s]. If ſo, it appears that death was leſs dreadful to him than ſhame; but it is hard to believe that ſo wiſe a man could be wrought upon by ſo weak and inſignificant a reflection.

SUCH was the fate of ſir *Humphry Gilbert*! one of the worthieſt men of that age, whether we regard the ſtrength of his underſtanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from *Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire*; but that I am ſuſpicious of their credit, and the more ſo, becauſe they do not agree well together; beſides, they are but trivial, and my deſign leads me to take notice of ſuch only as concern his character [t]. The reaſon I have given his memoirs a place here is this, that he was in a manner the author of all our plantations, being the firſt who introduced a legal and regular method of ſettling, without which ſuch undertakings muſt neceſſarily prove unſucceſsful. Beſides, his treatiſe of the north-weſt paſſage was the ground of all the expectations which the beſt ſeamen had for many years, of actually finding ſuch a route to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and though at preſent we know many things advanced therein to be falſe, yet we likewiſe find

[s] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 159. [t] He tells us amongſt other things, that the queen of her particular grace, gave to ſir Humphry Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak If this were true, it is ſtrange that, in the prolix accounts we have of his voyages, and in the latin poem written expreſly to do him honour by Stephen Parmenius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his laſt voyage, there ſhould be no mention of it. Perhaps he had this circumſtance from no better authority, than that from whence he took ſir Humphry's motto, which he ſays was, *Malle mori, quam mutare*: whereas ſir Humphry himſelf gives it thus, *Mutare vel timere ſperno*. Worthies of Devon. p. 325.—329. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reaſon, and the philoſophy then commonly received. I ſhall conclude my account of him, by tranſcribing a paſſage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of conſideration, becauſe ſome later accounts of the *Spaniſh* miſſionaries in *California* affirm the ſame thing. "There was, ſays he, one *Salvaterra*, a "gentleman of *Victoria* in *Spain*, that came by chance "out of the *Weſt-Indies* into *Ireland*, *Anno* 1568, who "affirmed the north-weſt paſſage from us to *Cataia*, con- "ſtantly to be believed in *America* navigable; and fur- "ther ſaid, in the preſence of ſir *Henry Sidney* (then lord- "deputy of *Ireland*) in my hearing, that a frier of *Mexico*, "called *Andrew Urdaneta*, more than eight years before "his then coming into *Ireland*, told him, that he came "from *Mer del Sur* into *Germany* through this north-weſt "paſſage, and ſhewed *Salvaterra* (at that time being then "with him in *Mexico*) a ſea-card made by his own ex- "perience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly "ſet down and deſcribed this north-weſt paſſage, agreeing "in all points with *Ortelius*'s map. And further, this "frier told the king of *Portugal*, as he returned by that "country homeward, that there was (of certainty) ſuch "a paſſage north-weſt from *England*, and that he meant "to publiſh the ſame; which done, the king moſt earneſt- "ly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe or make the "paſſage known to any nation; for that (ſaid the king) "if *England* had knowledge and experience thereof, it "would greatly hinder both the king of *Spain* and me. "This frier (as *Salvaterra* reported) was the greateſt diſ- "coverer by ſea, that hath been in our age. Alſo *Salva- "terra* being perſuaded of this paſſage by the frier *Urda- "neta*, and by the common opinion of the *Spaniards* in-

habiting

" habiting *America*, offered moſt willingly to accompany " me in this diſcovery, which it is like he would not have " done, if he had ſtood in doubt thereof[y]." It is true, that Sir *William Monſon* diſcredits this relation, as he endeavours to refute all the reaſons that have been offered to ſupport the opinion of a paſſage to the north-weſt[z]; yet I meddle not with the diſpute, but with the fact, which, as I have ſaid, is confirmed by later teſtimonies to the ſame purpoſe. Let us now proceed to

Sir JOHN HAWKINS, *a famous Admiral, and one who performed many great ſervices againſt the* Spaniards.

THIS gentleman was a native of *Devonſhire*, as well as the former, and deſcended alſo of a good family, his father was *William Hawkins*, eſq; a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate, his mother's name was *Joan Trelawny*, daughter of *William Trelawney* of the county of *Cornwall*, eſq. Our *John Hawkins* was their ſecond ſon, born at *Plymouth*[a], but in what year I have not been able to find: however, from circumſtances we may gather, that it could not be later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to navigation, and the ſtudy of the mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to put his ſkill in practice, by making ſeveral voyages to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Canaries*, which were in thoſe days extraordinary undertakings, and muſt have given him much more experience than almoſt any of his Contemporaries[b]. Of theſe

[y] Ibid. p. 19. [z] Naval Tracts, p. 428. [a] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389. [b] Stowe, ubi ſup.

voyages we have no particular account, any more than of thoſe of his father Mr. *William Hawkins*, who was likewiſe a very great ſeaman, and the firſt of our nation who made a voyage to *Brazil*[c]. His ſon, probably, reaped the benefit of his obſervations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by queen *Elizabeth* as an officer at ſea, when ſome who were afterwards chief commanders were but boys, and learned the ſkill, by which they roſe, from him.

In the ſpring of the year 1562, he formed the deſign of his firſt famous voyage, advantageous to himſelf and moſt of his proprietors; but much more ſo in its conſequences to his country, In ſeveral trips to the *Canaries*, where by his tenderneſs and humanity he had made himſelf much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the ſlave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the ſale of *Negroes* in the *Weſt-Indies*. After due conſideration he reſolved to attempt ſomewhat in this way, and to raiſe a ſubſcription amongſt his Friends (the greateſt Traders in the city of *London*) for opening a new trade, firſt to *Guinea* for ſlaves, and then to *Hiſpaniola*, *St. John de Porto Rico*, and other *Spaniſh* Iſlands for ſugars, hides, ſilver, *&c.* Upon his repreſentation of the affair, Sir *Lionel Ducket*, Sir *Thomas Lodge*, Sir *William Winter*, Mr. *Bromfield*, and Mr. *Gunſon*, whoſe daughter Mr. *Hawkins* married, readily joined in the undertaking. At their expence a little fleet was prepared, compoſed of the following ſhips; The *Solomon*, of the burthen of 120 tons, in which went Mr. *Hawkins* himſelf; the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, commanded by captain *Thomas Hampton*, and a bark of 40 tons called the

[c] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 520.

the *Jonas*, on board of which there were about a hundred men in all. With this ſquadron he ſailed from the coaſt of *England* in the month of *October* 1562, and in his courſe firſt touched at *Teneriffe*, ſailed thence to the coaſt of *Guinea*, where having by force or purchaſe acquired 300 *Negro* ſlaves, he ſailed directly to *Hiſpaniola*, and making there a large profit he returned ſafe into *England*, in the month of *September* 1563[d].

THE next year he made another voyage with a greater force, himſelf being in the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, a ſhip of 700 tons, accompanied by the *Solomon*, and two barks, the *Tyger* and the *Swallow*. He ſailed from *Plymouth* the eighteenth of *October* 1564, proceeded to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and thence to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, where he forced a trade much to his profit, and after viſiting the port of the *Havana*, came home through the gulph of *Florida*, arriving at *Padſtowe* in *Cornwall*, on the twentieth of *September* 1565, having loſt but twenty perſons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities[e]. His ſkill and ſucceſs had now raiſed him to ſuch a reputation, that Mr. *Harvey*, then *Clarencieux* king at arms, granted him by patent for his creſt, a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord[f].

IN the beginning of the year 1567, he ſailed to the relief of the *French* proteſtants in *Rochelle*, and returning home in the ſummer, began to make the neceſſary preparations for his third voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*, which he undertook ſome time afterwards[g].

[d] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 500. [e] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 501. [f] Prince, in the Page before cited, tells us, he took this from the Original Patent. [g] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

Mr. *Hawkins* made this, as he did his former voyage in the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, accompanied by the *Minion* and four other ſhips. He ſailed with theſe from *Plymouth* the ſecond of *October* 1567. At firſt they met with ſuch ſtorms that they had thoughts of returning home, but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his courſe to the *Canaries*, thence to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and ſo to the *Spaniſh America* to ſell his *Negroes*. The governor of *Rio de la Hacha*, refuſing to trade, *Hawkins* landed, and took the town, in which there ſeems to have been ſome colluſion; for notwithſtanding this they traded together in a friendly manner till moſt of the *Negroes* were ſold. Thence he ſailed to *Carthagena*, where he diſpoſed of the reſt; but in returning home being ſurprized with ſtorms on the coaſt of *Florida*, he was forced to ſteer for the port of St. *John de Ulloa*, in the bottom of the bay of *Mexico*. He entered the port the ſixteenth of *September* 1568, when the *Spaniards* came on board, ſuppoſing him to have come from *Spain*, and were exceedingly frighted when they found their miſtake. Mr. *Hawkins* treated them very civilly, aſſuring them, that all he came for was proviſions; neither did he attack twelve merchant-ſhips that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth two hundred thouſand pounds, but contented himſelf with ſeizing two perſons of diſtinction, whom he kept as hoſtages, while an expreſs was ſent to *Mexico* with an account of his demands. The next day the *Spaniſh* fleet appeared in ſight, which gave captain *Hawkins* great uneaſineſs; for, if he kept them out, he was ſenſible they muſt be loſt with all they had on board, which amounted to near two millions ſterling; an act which, conſidering there was no war declared againſt *Spain*, he was afraid queen *Elizabeth* would never pardon. On the other hand he was no leſs

ſenſible

ſenſible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the *Spaniards* would not fail, if once they were ſuffered to come in, to attempt ſome treachery. At length he determined to admit the Fleet, provided the new vice-roy of *Mexico*, who was on board it, would agree that the *Engliſh* ſhould have victuals for their money, that hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides, and that the iſland, with eleven pieces of braſs cannon therein, ſhould be yielded to his crew while they ſtaid. At theſe demands the viceroy at firſt ſeemed highly diſpleaſed, yet quickly after he yielded to them, and at a perſonal conference with Mr. *Hawkins*, ſolemnly promiſed to perform them [h].

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the twenty-ſixth, with the uſual ſalutations, and two days more were employed to range the ſhips of each nation by themſelves, the officers and ſailors on both ſides uſing reciprocal civilities, and profeſſing a great deal of friendſhip. But the *Spaniards* intended nothing leſs; for they had by this time muſtered a thouſand men on land, and deſigned on *Thurſday* the twenty-fourth at dinner-time to ſet on the *Engliſh* on every ſide. On the day appointed, in the morning, the *Engliſh* perceived the *Spaniards* ſhifting their weapons from ſhip to ſhip, pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewiſe obſerved great numbers of men, paſſing to and fro, than the buſineſs on board the ſhips required, which with other circumſtances giving grounds of ſuſpicion, captain *Hawkins* ſent to the vice-roy to know the meaning of ſuch unuſual motions, whereupon the vice-roy ſent orders to have every thing removed that might give the *Engliſh* umbrage, with

[h] Camden's Annals, p. 158. Sir John Hawkins's Account of this Voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522, 523.

with a promiſe on the faith of a vice-roy, to be their defence againſt any clandeſtine attempts of the *Spaniards*. However, the captain not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, becauſe he ſuſpected a great number of men to be hidden in a ſhip of 900 tons, which was moored next the *Minion*, he ſent the maſter of the *Jeſus*, who underſtood *Spaniſh*, to know of the vice-roy, whether it was ſo or not. The vice-roy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous deſign no longer, detained the maſter, and cauſing the trumpet to be ſounded, the *Spaniards* at the ſignal of which they were apprized, ſet upon the *Engliſh* on all ſides. Thoſe who were upon the iſland, being ſtruck with fear at this ſudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ſhips, but the *Spaniards*, landing in great numbers at ſeveral places at once, (which they might do without boats, the ſhips lying cloſe to the ſhore) ſlew them all without mercy, excepting a few who eſcaped on board the *Jeſus*[1].

THE great ſhip, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the *Minion*, but ſhe having put all hands to work the moment their ſuſpicions commenced, had in that ſhort ſpace, which was but half an hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the firſt brunt of the great ſhip, the latter clapped the *Jeſus* aboard, which was at the ſame time attacked by two other ſhips. However, with much ado, and the loſs of many men, ſhe kept them off, till ſhe cut her cable, and got clear alſo. As ſoon as the *Jeſus* and the *Minion* were got two ſhips length from the *Spaniſh* fleet, they began the fight, which was ſo furious, that in one hour, the admiral of the *Spaniards* and another ſhip were ſuppoſed

[1] Camden, as before, Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524.

ſuppoſed to be ſunk, and their vice-admiral burned, ſo that they had little to fear from the enemy's ſhips; but they ſuffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the iſland, which ſunk their ſmall ſhips, and mangled all the maſts and rigging of the *Jeſus*, in ſuch a manner, that there was no Hopes of bringing her off. This being the caſe, they determined to place her for a ſhelter to the *Minion* till night, and then, taking out of her what victuals and other neceſſaries they could, to leave her behind. But preſently after, perceiving two large ſhips, fired by the *Spaniards*, bearing down directly upon them, the Men aboard the *Minion*, in great conſternation, without conſent of either the captain or maſter, ſet ſail and made off from the *Jeſus* in ſuch haſte, that captain *Hawkins* had ſcarce time to get on board her. As for the men, moſt of them followed in a ſmall boat, the reſt were left to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, which, ſays the captain, I doubt was very little [k].

THE *Minion*, and the *Judith*, were the only two *Engliſh* ſhips that eſcaped, and in the night, the *Judith*, which was a bark only of fifty tons, ſeparated herſelf from the *Minion*, on board which was captain *Hawkins* and the beſt part of his men. In this diſtreſs, having little to eat, leſs water, in unknown ſeas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the eighth of *October*, and then entered a creek in the bay of *Mexico*, in order to obtain ſome refreſhment. This was about the mouth of the river *Tampico*, in the lat. of 23°. 36. N. where his company dividing, one hundred deſired to be put on ſhore, and the reſt, who were about the ſame number, reſolved, at all events, to endeavour to get home. Accordingly on the 16th they weighed

[k] Ibid.

weighed and ſtood through the gulph of *Florida*, making the beſt of their way for *Europe*. In their paſſage, they were forced to put into *Ponte Vedra*, in *Spain*, where the *Spaniards* coming to know their weakneſs, thought by treachery to ſeize them a ſecond time; but they ſuſpecting this ſailed forthwith to *Vigo*, not far off. They there met with ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which ſupplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of *January*, 1586, arrived in *Mount's-Bay*, in *Cornwall*, the 25th of *January* following. As to the hardſhips endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more ſtrongly, or exactly pictured, than in the following Lines, with which captain *Hawkins* concludes his own relation [l]. "If all the miſeries and trouble-"ſome affairs, ſays he, of this ſorrowful voyage ſhould "be perfectly and throughly written, there ſhould need a "painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had "that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs." [m] In reward of his famous action at *Rio de la Hatcha*, Mr. *Cook*, then *Clarencieux*, added to his arms, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, *Or*, an eſcallop between two palmer's ſtaves *Sable*; and his patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant [n].

WHEN the *Spaniſh* fleet went to fetch *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the laſt wife of *Philip* the ſecond out of *Flanders*. Sir *John Hawkins* with a ſmall fleet of her majeſty's ſhips was riding in cat-water, which the *Spaniſh* admiral perceiving, he

[l] Camden, Annal, p. 352. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524, 525. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol iv. p. 1177. [m] Theſe are the laſt Words of Captain Hawkins's Relation; but the inquiſitive Reader may find ſome further Circumſtances relating to this unfortunate Voyage, in the Travels of Miles Phillips, and of Job Hartop, two of the Men ſet on Shore by Sir John Hawkins, in the Bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii. p. 469, 487. [n] Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389. from the Copy of this Patent.

he endeavoured to run between the iſland and the place without paying the uſual ſalutes. Sir *John* ordered the gunner of his own ſhip to fire at the rigging of the *Spaniſh* admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the Hull and ſhot through and through. The *Spaniards* upon this took in their flags and topſails and run to an anchor. The *Spaniſh* admiral then ſent an officer of diſtinction in a boat to carry at once his complements and complaints to Sir *John Hawkins*. He ſtanding upon deck would not either admit the officer, or hear his meſſage; but bid him tell his admiral, that having neglected the reſpect due to the queen of *England*, in her ſeas and port, and having ſo large a fleet under his command he muſt not expect to lie there; but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and begone, otherwiſe he ſhould regard him as an enemy declared, his conduct having already rendered him ſuſpected.

THE *Spaniſh* admiral upon receiving this meſſage came off in perſon, and went in his boat to the *Jeſus* of *Lubec*, on board which Sir *John Hawkins*'s flag was flying, deſiring to ſpeak with him which at firſt was refuſed, but at length granted. The *Spaniard* then expoſtulated the matter, inſiſted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir *John Hawkins* told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what reſpect was due to the queen's ſhips, that he had diſpatched an expreſs to her majeſty with advice of his behaviour, and that in the mean time he would do well to depart. The *Spaniard* ſtill pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give ſatisfaction.

UPON this Sir *John Hawkins* told him mildly, that he could not be a ſtranger to what was practiſed by the *French*

and

and *Spaniards*, in their own ſeas and ports; adding, put the caſe Sir that an *Engliſh* fleet came into any of the king your maſter's ports, his majeſty's ſhips being there, and thoſe *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould carry their flags in their tops, Would you not ſhoot them down, and beat the ſhips out of your port? The *Spaniard* owned he would, confeſſed he was in the wrong, ſubmitted to the penalty Sir *John* impoſed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his ſon Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who was eye-witneſs of all that paſſed.

THE next great action of this worthy ſeaman, was his ſervice under the lord high-admiral in 1588, againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, wherein he acted as rear-admiral, on board her majeſty's ſhip the *Victory*, and had as large a ſhare of the danger and honour of that day, as any man in the fleet, for which he moſt deſervedly received the honour of knighthood*; and in the purſuit of the flying *Spaniards*, he did extraordinary ſervice, inſomuch, that on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen. In 1590, he was ſent in conjunction with Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, each having a ſquadron of five men of war, to infeſt the coaſts of *Spain*, and to intercept, if poſſible, the plate-fleet. At firſt, his catholic majeſty thought of oppoſing theſe famous commanders, with a ſuperior fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of *Don Alonzo de Baſſan*; but upon more mature deliberation he abandoned this deſign, directed his ſhips to keep cloſe in port, and ſent inſtructions into the *Indies*, that the fleet, inſtead of returning, ſhould winter there. Sir *John Hawkins* and his collegue, ſpent ſeven months in this ſtation, without

* Stowe's Annals, p. 748.

without performing any thing of note, or ſo much as taking a ſingle ſhip. They afterwards attempted the iſland of *Fayal*, which had ſubmitted the year before to the earl of *Cumberland*; but the citadel being refortified, and the inhabitants well furniſhed with artillery and ammunition, Sir *John* and his aſſociates were forced to retreat. It muſt be owned, that with the populace very ſmall reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they loſt no credit at court, where the iſſue of the buſineſs was better underſtood. By compelling the *Spaniſh* navy to fly into fortified ports, they deſtroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and their wintering of their plate-ſhips in the *Indies*, proved ſo great a detriment to the merchants of *Spain*, that many broke in *Seville*, and other places; beſides, it was ſo great a prejudice to their veſſels, to winter in the *Indies*, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued the end of this expedition was fully anſwered, and the nation gained a very ſignal advantage, by grievouſly diſtreſſing their enemies [P].

THE war with *Spain* continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the *Indies*, a propoſition was made to the queen by Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake*, the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts, than had been hitherto made through the whole courſe of the war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt. There were many motives

[P] Camden. Annals, p. 620. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

motives which induced our admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his perſon, in this dangerous ſervice; amongſt which, this was not the laſt, or the leaſt, that his ſon *Richard*, who was afterwards Sir *Richard Hawkins*, was at this time a priſoner in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and ſome hope there was, that in the courſe of ſuch an enterprize, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him [q]. The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed on her part, a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir *John Hawkins* embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and their whole force was about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe. The fleet was detained for ſome time after it was ready, on the *Engliſh* coaſt, by the arts of the *Spaniards*, who having intelligence of its ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, they conceived, that the only means by which it could be defeated, was practiſing ſome contrivances that might diſappoint the firſt exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade *England*; and to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a ſudden deſcent on *Cornwall*. By theſe ſteps, they carried their point; for the queen, and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips, on ſo long a voyage, at

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[q] Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage to the South Seas, p. 133.

ſo critical a juncture. At laſt, this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from *Plymouth*, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, in order to execute their grand deſign, of burning *Nombre de Dios*, marching thence by land to *Panama*, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived at that place from *Peru*. A few days before their departure, the queen ſent them advice, that the plate-fleet was ſafely arrived in *Spain*, excepting only a ſingle galloon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to *Porto Rico*, the taking of this veſſel, ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea, the generals differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir *John Hawkins* was for executing immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir *Francis Drake* inclined to go firſt to the *Canaries*, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unſucceſsful, and then they ſailed for *Dominica*, where they ſpent too much time in refreſhing themſelves, and ſetting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the *Spaniards* had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galloon from *Porto Rico*, having exact intelligence of the intention of the *Engliſh* admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of *October*, Sir *John Hawkins* weighed from *Dominica*, and in the evening of the ſame day, the *Francis*, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the *Sternmoſt*, of Sir *John's* ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of *Spaniſh* frigates beforementioned, and was taken, the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir *John*, it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the 21ſt of *November*, 1595, when they were in ſight of the iſland of *Porto Rico*, and not, as Sir *William Monſon* ſuggeſts, of chagrin, on the miſcarriage

in

in attempting the city of the ſame name, which in truth he never lived to ſee [r].

At ſo great a diſtance of time, it may ſeem ſtrange to enter into, or at leaſt to enter minutely into the character of this famous ſeaman; but as we have good authorities, and ſuch reflections, may be of uſe to poſterity, we think it not amiſs to undertake this taſk; in performing which, we ſhall uſe all the care and impartiality that can be expected [s]. Sir *John* had naturally ſtrong parts, which he improved by conſtant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reſerved in diſcovering his own [t]. He was ſlow, jealous, and ſomewhat irreſolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a ſtrict obſerver of his word. As he had paſſed a great part of his life at ſea, he had too great a diſlike of land-ſoldiers [u]. When occaſion required it, he could diſſemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than reſerved diſpoſition. And now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greateſt, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all juſt bounds [w]. Yet, in ſpight of his imperfections, he was always eſteemed one of the ableſt of his profeſſion; of which

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[r] Camden. Annal. p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. There is an accurate and copious Account of this Voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii p. 583 As alſo in purchas's pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1183. See likewiſe Stowe, Holingſhed, and Speed. [s] In order to this I have compared what is to be met with in Hakluyt, Purchas, Monſon, Stowe, and Sir Richard Hawkin's book, as alſo whatever notices I have been able to collect from other contemporary writers. [t] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183. [u] See a very remarkable Letter ſigned R. M. by one who had ſailed with Hawkins and Drake, and drew a parallel between them. Purchas, Vol. vi. p. 1185. [w] I take this from the ſaid Letter, and from ſome MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

theſe are no inconſiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at ſea forty-eight years, and treaſurer of the navy two and twenty [x]. He and his eldeſt brother *William* were owners at once of thirty ſail of good ſhips [y], and it was generally owned, that Sir *John Hawkins* was the author of more uſeful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had bore command therein before his time [z].

Memoirs of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, *a moſt ſkilfull ſeaman, the firſt who made a voyage round the world, and vice-admiral of the* Engliſh *Fleet in* 1588.

IT ſeems in ſome meaſure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that the moſt illuſtrious perſons in our nation have riſen from very obſcure beginnings, and have left their hiſtorians difficulties enough to ſtruggle with in deriving their deſcents. This is particularly true of Sir *Francis Drake*, concerning whoſe family I muſt confeſs, I can ſay nothing with much certainty. That he was born in *Devonſhire*, occaſioned his being taken notice of by the Reverend Mr. *Prince*, who has left us a life of him, not much to be depended on [a]; and as to eatlier writers, many of them are ſilent. According to the account given by Mr. *Camden*, who profeſſes to have taken it from his

[x] Camden. Annal. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. [y] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. [z] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. [a] Worthies of Devon. p. 289.

own mouth, we are told that he was ſon of a perſon in ordinary circumſtances, who lived in a village in *Devonſhire*, and that Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, afterwards earl of *Bedford*, was his godfather. His father having embraced the proteſtant religion, was obliged to quit his country and retire to *Kent*, where he firſt read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained a deacon, and in proceſs of time became vicar of the church of *Upnore*. As for our *Francis Drake*, he was bound out apprentice to the maſter of a coaſting veſſel, whom he ſerved ſo faithfully, that dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ſhip to *Drake*; which laid the foundation of his fortunes[b]. I do not doubt, but many of the circumſtances in this ſtory may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they ſtand in *Camden*, they cannot be ſo. For firſt, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the ſix articles, and he was born ſome time before, Sir *Francis Ruſſel* could have been but a child, and therefore, not likely to be his godfather[c]. Another ſtory there is, as circumſtantial, and written as early, which perhaps ſome judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this: but whether that can be done or not, I think it of better credit. According to this relation I find that he was the ſon of an honeſt ſailor, and born near *Taviſtock* in the year 1545, being the eldeſt of twelve brethren and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinſman Sir *John*

[b] Camden's Annals, p. 351. Engliſh Hero, p. 1. and Fuller's Holy State, p. 123.

[c] It appears by the Monumental Inſcription on the Tomb of this noble Perſon, that he was born A. D. 1527. and was, therefore, but ten Years old at Drake's Chriſtning, according to this account; but might well be his Godfather, if born 1545. See Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 101.

John Hawkins. I likewiſe find that, at the age of eighteen, he was purſer of a ſhip trading to *Biſcay*; that at twenty he made a voyage to *Guinea*, and at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed captain of the *Judith*, in the harbour of St. *John de Ulloa*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, where he behaved moſt gallantly in that glorious action, under Sir *John Hawkins*, and returned with him into *England* with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat[a]. Upon this he conceived a deſign of making reprisals on the king of *Spain*; which, ſome ſay, was put into his head by the miniſter of his ſhip, and to be ſure in ſea-divinity the caſe was clear, the king of *Spain's* ſubjects had undone Mr. *Drake*, and therefore Mr. *Drake* was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on the ſubjects of the King of *Spain*[c]. This doctrine how rudely ſoever preached was very taking in *England*, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to acccompany him, though they had no ſuch pretence to colour their proceedings as he had[f]. In 1570, he made his firſt expedition with two ſhips, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*; and the next year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich; and having now means ſufficient to perform greater matters, as well as ſkill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important deſign, with reſpect to himſelf and to his enemies[g]. This he put in execution on the twenty-fourth of *March* 1572, on which day he ſailed from *Plymouth*,

[a] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. [c] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 239. [f] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351. [g] Sir Francis Drake revived, by Philip Nichols, Preacher, a 4to. of 94 pages in black Letter, publiſhed by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, his Nephew.

mouth, himſelf in a ſhip called the *Paſcha*, of the burthen of ſeventy tons, and his brother *John Drake* in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole ſtrength conſiſting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconſiderable force on the twenty-ſecond of *July*, he attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then ſerved the *Spaniards* for the ſame purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as thoſe for which they now uſe *Porto Bello*. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet after all they were no great gainers, but after a very briſk action were obliged to betake themſelves to their ſhips with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*; but in this ſcheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the town of *Venta Cruz*, carried it, and got ſome little booty. In their return they met unexpectedly with a ſtring of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt. In theſe expeditions he was greatly aſſiſted by a nation of *Indians*, who are engaged in a perpetual war with the *Spaniards*. The prince or captain of theſe people was named *Pedro*, to whom captain *Drake* preſented a fine cutlaſs which he at that time wore, and to which he ſaw the *Indian* had a mind. *Pedro* in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which captain *Drake* threw into the common ſtock, with this remarkable expreſſion; *that he thought it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage on his credit, ſhould ſhare the utmoſt advantages that voyage produced.* Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for *England*, and was ſo fortunate as to

fail

ſail in twenty-three days from cape *Florida* to the iſles of *Scilly*, and thence without any accident to *Plymouth*, where he arrived the ninth of *Auguſt* 1573 [h].

His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the uſe he made of his riches, ſtill a greater; for fitting out three ſtout frigates at his own expence, he ſailed with them to *Ireland*, where, under *Walter* earl of *Eſſex* (the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded) he ſerved as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions [i]. After the death of his noble patron, he returned into *England*, where Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who was then vice-chamberlain to queen *Elizabeth*, privy-counſellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majeſty, and procured him her countenance [k]. By this means, he acquired a capacity of undertaking that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he firſt propoſed, was, a voyage into the *South-Seas*, through the ſtreights of *Magellan*, which was what hitherto no *Engliſhman* ever attempted. This project was well received at court, and in a ſhort time, captain *Drake* ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the *South-Seas*, he framed an ardent prayer to god, that he might ſail an *Engliſh* ſhip in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permiſſion furniſhing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient [l].

[h] See that relation, as alſo Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinſhed, Speed. [i] Stowe's Annals, p. 807. [k] Id. ibid. [l] Camden's Annals, p. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

THE fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary undertaking, conſiſted of the following ſhips; the *Pelican*, commanded by himſelf, of the burden of one hundred tons; the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under captain *John Winter*; the *Marygold*, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain *John Thomas*; the *Swan*, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under captain *John Cheſter*, and the *Chriſtopher*, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain *Thomas Moon* [m]. In this fleet, were embarked no more than one hundred ſixty-four able men, and all the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for *Alexandria*, though all men ſuſpected, and many knew he intended for *America*. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of *November* 1577, about three in the afternoon, he ſailed from *Plymouth*; but a heavy ſtorm taking him as ſoon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into *Falmouth* to refit, which having expeditiouſly performed, he again put to ſea the thirteenth of *December* following [n]. On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, he fell in with the coaſt of *Barbary*, and on the twenty-ninth with cape *Verd*; the thirteenth of *March*, he paſſed the *Equinoctial*, the fifth of *April*, he made the coaſt of *Brazil* in 30 N° L. and entered the river *de la Plata*, where he loſt the company of two of his ſhips; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the proviſions they had on board, he turned them a-drift. On the twenty-ninth of *May*, he entered the port of St. *Julian's*, where he did the leaſt commendable action of his life in executing Mr.

John

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[m] Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46. [n] Camden's Annals, p. 354.

John Doughty, a man next in authority to himſelf; in which, however, he preſerved a great appearance of juſtice [o]. On the twentieth of *Auguſt*, he entered the ſtreights of *Magellan*, on the twenty-fifth of *September* he paſſed them, having then only his own ſhip, which in the *South-Seas*, he new named the *Hind*; on the twenty-fifth of *November*, he came to *Machao*, in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in caſe his ſhips ſeparated; but captain *Winter* having repaſſed the ſtreights, was returned to *England*. Thence he continued his voyage along the coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, taking all opportunities of ſeizing *Spaniſh* ſhips, or of landing and attacking them on-ſhore, till his crew were ſated with plunder; and then coaſting *North-America* to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a paſſage back into our ſeas on that ſide, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of his conſummate ſkill and invincible courage; for if ever ſuch a paſſage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can ſcarce conceive a clearer teſtimony of an undaunted ſpirit, than attempting diſcoveries, after ſo long, ſo hazardous, and ſo fatiguing a voyage [p]. Here being diſappointed of what he ſought, he landed, and called the country, *New-Albion*, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name and for the uſe of queen *Elizabeth*, and having trimmed his ſhip, ſet ſail from thence on the twenty-ninth of *September* 1579, for the *Moluccа*'s. The reaſon of captain *Drake*'s chuſing this paſſage round, rather than returning

[o] See the relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733. all which is omitted in the reviſed account in Purchas before referred to.

[p] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. See alſo ſome remarks on this paſſage in Dampier's Voyages.

by the ſtreights of *Magellan*, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great diſadvantage by the *Spaniards*, and partly the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, whence dangerous ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended [1]. On the thirteenth of *October*, he fell in with certain iſlands inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with, in all his voyage. On the fourth of *November*, he had ſight of the *Molucca's*, and coming to *Ternate*, was extreamly well received by the king thereof, who appears from the moſt authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wiſe and polite prince. On the tenth of *December*, he made *Celebes*, where his ſhip unfortunately ran on a rock, the ninth of *January* following, whence, beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculouſly, they got off, and continued their courſe. On the ſixteenth of *March*, he arrived at *Java Major*, thence he intended to have proceeded for *Malacca*, but found himſelf obliged to alter his purpoſe, and think of returning directly home. [2] On the twenty-fifth of *March* 1580, he put this deſign in execution, and on the fifteenth of *June*, he doubled the cape of *Good-hope*, having then on board his ſhip fifty-ſeven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of *July* he paſſed the Line, reached the coaſt of *Guinea* on the ſixteenth, and there watered. On the eleventh of *September* he made the iſland of *Tercera*, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month entered the harbour of *Plymouth*. In this voyage he compleatly ſurrounded the globe, which no commander in

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[1] See all the relations before cited for the confirmation of this circumſtance: but perhaps captain Drake might be deterred by the confident, though falſe report of the Spaniards, that the ſtreights could not be repaſſed. [2] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 748.

in chief had done before[r]. His ſucceſs in the voyage, and the immenſe maſs of wealth he brought home, raiſed much diſcourſe throughout the kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his country; that it would eſtabliſh our reputation for maritime ſkill in foreign nations, and raiſe a uſeful ſpirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs practices of the *Spaniards*, there was nothing more juſt than that the nation ſhould receive the benefit of *Drake*'s repriſals. The other party alledged, that in fact he was no better than a pyrate; that of all others, it leaſt became a trading nation to encourage ſuch practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with *Spain*, but likewiſe of our old leagues with the houſe of *Burgundy*; and that the conſequences would be much more fatal, than the benefits reaped from it could be advantagious. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. At length they took a better turn; for on the 4th of *April* 1581, her majeſty dining at *Deptford* in *Kent*, went on board captain *Drake*'s Ship, where ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her abſolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confuſion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends[s]. She likewiſe gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument of his own, and his country's glory. In proceſs of time, the veſſel decaying, it was broken

[r] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742. Purchas, vol. i. p 46—57.
[s] Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Holingſhed, Speed.

broken up; but a chair made of the planks was presented to the university of *Oxford*, and is still preserved[v].

In 1585, he sailed again to the *West-Indies*, having under his command, captain *Christopher Carlisle*, captain *Martin Frobisher*, captain *Francis Knollys*, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St. *Jago*, St. *Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and St. *Augustin*, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree[w]. Yet the profits of this expedition, were but moderate, the design of sir *Francis* being rather to weaken the enemy, than to enrich himself[x]. In 1587, he proceeded to *Lisbon* with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a great fleet assembled in the bay of *Cadiz*, which was to have made part of the *Armada*, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand ton of shipping, and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of *London*, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large *Carrack* expected at *Terceras* from the *East-Indies*, thither he sailed; and tho' his men were severely pinched for want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days; within this space the *East-India* ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there

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[v] See Mr. Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680. p. 8, 42. [w] Hakluyt vol. iii. p. 534. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden. Annal. p. 553. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Holingshed, Speed. [x] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

there was no expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to reputation or profit[r]; and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return, the mighty applauſe he received, might render him ſomewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the public. Thus at this time he undertook to bring water into the town of *Plymouth*, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a ſtream from ſprings at eight miles diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtraight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the courſe it runs is of upwards of twenty miles[s].

In 1588, ſir *Francis Drake* was appointed vice-admiral, under *Charles* lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, high-admiral of *England*; here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever; for he made prize of a large *galleon*, commanded by don *Pedro de Valdez*, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this veſſel, fifty thouſand ducats were diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, which preſerved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that, through an overſight of his, the admiral ran the utmoſt hazard of being taken by the enemy; for *Drake* being appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the *Engliſh* fleet, he, being in full purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*, neglected it; which occaſioned the admiral's following the *Spaniſh* lights, and remaining almoſt in the centre

[r] Stow's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's Tracts, p. 170. [s] Wescot's Survey of Devonſhire, MS. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

centre of their fleet 'till morning. However, his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently effaced the memory of this miſtake, the greateſt execution done on the flying *Spaniards*, being performed by the ſquadron under his command [a].

THE next year he commanded as admiral at ſea, the fleet ſent to reſtore don *Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, the command of the land-forces being given to ſir *John Norris*. They were hardly got out to ſea, before the commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better diſpoſed with reſpect to ſoldiers, than ſir *Francis Drake*. The ground of their difference was this, the general was bent on landing at the *Groyne*, whereas ſir *Francis*, and the ſea-officers were for ſailing to *Lisbon* directly; in which if their advice had been taken, without queſtion their enterprize had ſucceeded, and don *Antonio* been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading *Portugal*, that the enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them, to ſo good purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any impreſſion. Sir *John Norris* indeed marched by land to *Lisbon*, and ſir *Francis Drake* very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he ſaw the conſequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he choſe rather to brake his promiſe, than to hazard the queen's navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by *Norris*, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet, ſir *Francis* fully juſtified himſelf on his return; for he made it manifeſt to the queen and council, that

[a] Camden's Annals, p. 565. 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 602. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed.

that all the ſervice that was done, was performed by him, and that his ſailing up the river of *Liſbon*, would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off, and that, without reducing it, there was no taking the town [b].

His next ſervice was, the fatal undertaking in conjunction with ſir *John Hawkins*, in 1594, for the deſtroying *Nombre de Dios*, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the laſt-mentioned commander, which, as we have ſhewn, was the day before ſir *Francis* made his deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of *Porto Rico*. This was performed with all courage imaginable, on the 13th of *November* 1595, and attended with great loſs to the *Spaniards*, yet with very little advantage to the *Engliſh*, who meeting with a more reſolute reſiſtance, and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of *Rio de la Hacha*, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a ſingle houſe belonging to a lady, only excepted. After this he deſtroyed ſome other villages, and then proceeded to *Santa Martha*, which he likewiſe burned. The like fate had the famous town of *Nombre de Dios*, the *Spaniards* refuſing to ranſom any of theſe places, and the booty taken in them being very inconſiderable. On the 29th of *December*, ſir *Thomas Baſkerville* marched with ſeven hundred and fifty men towards *Panama*, but returned on the ſecond of *January*, finding the deſign of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion on

[b] Camden. Annal. p. 601.—606. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p. 755. Holinſhed, Speed.

A

on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the 28th, about four in the morning, though ſir *William Monſon* hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his ſickneſs killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived fifty-five years[c]; but his memory will ſurvive as long as that world laſts which he firſt ſurrounded. Hitherto we have ſpoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, diſcourſe ſomewhat of his perſon and character.

He was low of ſtature, but well ſet; had a broad open cheſt, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complection, with a freſh, chearful, and very engaging countenance[d]. As navigation had been his whole ſtudy, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect maſter in every branch, eſpecially in aſtronomy, and in the application thereof, to the nautic art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them; we need not wonder that Sir *Francis Drake*, who performed ſo many great things, ſhould have as much ill ſpoken of him, as of any man of the age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him, alledged that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate ſpeaker, and, though indiſputably a good ſeaman, no great general; in proof of which, they took notice of his neglecting to furniſh his fleet throughly in 1585;

[c] See an account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1183. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Camden. Annal. p. 700. Engliſh Heroe, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261. [d] Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

1585; his not keeping either St. *Domingo*, or *Carthagena*, after he had taken them; the ſlender proviſion he made in his expedition to *Portugal*; his breaking his word to Sir *John Norris*, and the errors he committed in his laſt undertaking [e]. In excuſe of theſe, it is ſaid, that the glory of what he did, might very well remove the imputation of his mean deſcent; what was thought haughtineſs in him, might be no more than a juſt concern for the ſupport of his authority; his diſplay of his great ſervices, a thing incident to his profeſſion; and his love of ſpeaking, qualified by his wiſdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak, or an ungraceful expreſſion. In equipping his fleet, he was not ſo much in fault as thoſe whom he truſted; ſickneſs hindered his keeping the places he took in the *Weſt-Indies*; his councils were continually croſſed by the land-officers in his voyage to *Portugal*; and as to his laſt attempt, the *Spaniards* were certainly well acquainted with his deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left *England*, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an inconteſtable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-ſightedneſs, and public ſpirit, ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country, to his own reputation or private gain [f].

THE only act of his whole life that laid him open to juſt cenſure, was his ſeverity towards Mr. *John Doughty*, which I have touched before, and which many reaſons incline me to mention again. The cauſe he alledged, was *Doughty's*

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[e] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrim v. 6. p. 1185. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. [f] Camden. Annal, p. 351. The world encompaſſed, p. 18. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Engliſh Heroe, p. 206.

Doughty's attempting to raiſe ſome diſturbance in the fleet, which they ſay was partly proved from his own confeſſion, and partly from papers found in his cuſtody [g]. But in thoſe days, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that *Doughty* was ſent abroad for no other purpoſe than to meet with his end, and this, becauſe he had charged the great earl of *Leiceſter* with poiſoning the earl of *Eſſex* [h]. A fact generally believed at that time, on account of the earl's marrying in a ſhort ſpace *Lettice* counteſs of *Eſſex*, with whom the world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that lord's death neceſſary. The fulleſt account I know of this matter, is to be found in a poem called *Leiceſter's Ghoſt*, wherein there is a great deal of true, and, I doubt not, a little falſe hiſtory. The ſtanzas relating to this matter, are as follow [i].

I doubted, leaſt that Doughtie *would bewray*
My counſel, and with other party take;
Wherefore, the ſooner him to rid away,
I ſent him forth to ſea, with captain Drake,
Who knew how t'entertaine him for my ſake.
Before he went, his lot by me was caſt;
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haſte.

He

[g] This ſtory is plainly and circumſtantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733, and is alſo mentioned in Mr. Winter's account of his voyage, p. 752. but in the relation printed in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46, it is ſlipt over in one line. [h] Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, in the life of ſir Francis Drake. [i] P. 22, 23. This is a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1641. and moſt of the facts contained in it, are taken from Leiceſter's Common-wealth, written by father Perſons; as the reader may perceive, by comparing theſe ſtanzas with what is ſaid of Doughty's death in that book, p. 49.

He hoped well; but I did ſo diſpoſe,
That he at port St. Gillian *loſt his head;*
Having no time permitted to diſcloſe
The inward griefs, that in his heart were bred;
We need not fear the biting of the dead.
Now let him go tranſported to the ſeas,
And tell my ſecrets to th' Antipodes.

YET it may be offered in defence of ſir *Francis Drake*, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumſtances of time and place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and received the ſacrament with *Drake*, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Beſides theſe, there are two points which deſerve particular conſideration: firſt, that in ſuch expeditions, ſtrict diſcipline, and legal ſeverity are often abſolutely neceſſary; ſecondly, that, as to the earl of *Eſſex*, for whoſe death *Doughtie* had expreſſed concern, he was *Drake*'s firſt patron, and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. *Camden* mentions the fact [k], and the report; but in ſuch a manner as ſeems to juſtify *Drake:* and indeed, on the ſtricteſt review of the evidence, I can ſee no ground to condemn him.

IT was the felicity of our admiral, to live under the reign of a princeſs, who never failed to diſtinguiſh merit, or to beſtow her favours where ſhe ſaw deſert. Sir *Francis Drake* was always her favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a quarrel he had with his countryman ſir *Bernard Drake*, whoſe arms ſir *Francis* had aſſumed, which ſo provoked the other, who was a ſeaman likewiſe, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen

[k] Annals, p. 555.

took up the quarrel, and gave ſir *Francis* a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable* a *feſs wavy between two pole ſtars argent*, and for his creſt, a *ſhip* on a *globe* under *ruff*, held by a *cable* with a *hand* out of the *clouds*; over it this *motto*, *Auxilio divino*, underneath *Sic parvis, magna*; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a *Wivern Gules*, which was the arms of ſir *Bernard Drake* [l]. Her majeſty's kindneſs, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for ſhe ſuffered his brother *Thomas Drake*, whom he made his heir, to be proſecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which much diminiſhed the advantages he would otherwiſe have reaped from his brother's ſucceſſion [m].

It would ſwell this work much beyond its intended bulk, if we ſhould enter particularly into the hiſtory of all the remarkable commanders who flouriſhed in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore, we ſhall be more conciſe in our accounts of ſuch heroes as we are yet to mention, and whoſe actions it would be however injurious to the reader to paſs over in abſolute ſilence.

Sir *Martin Frobiſher* was a native of *Yorkſhire*, born near *Doncaſter* of mean parents, who bred him to the ſea [n]. We have very little account of his junior years, or the manner in which they were ſpent. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf firſt by undertaking the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein, though he had not full ſucceſs, yet it gained him great reputation [o]. In the year 1577, he undertook a ſecond expedition, and in 1578, a third; in all which he gave the

[l] This ſtory is related by Prince, from the mouth of ſir John Drake, bart. a direct deſcendant from ſir Bernard. [m] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. [n] Stowe's Annals, p. 808. [o] A very full account of his voyages above-mentioned may be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii p. 26.—96.

the higheſt proofs of his courage and conduct, in providing for the ſafety of his men, and yet puſhing the diſcovery he went upon as far as it was poſſible; ſo that, notwithſtanding his diſappointment, he ſtill preſerved his reputation, and this in ſpight of a little accident which would certainly have overturned the credit of a leſs noted commander. He brought from the *Streights*, which he diſcovered, and which are ſtill known by his name, a large quantity of black, ſoft ſtone, full of yellow ſhining grains, which he ſuppoſed to be gold-ore; but after numberleſs trials it was reported to be nothing worth, and ſo thrown away [p]. On this occaſion, I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of captain *Monk*, who was ſent to make diſcoveries to the north-weſt by the king of *Denmark*. He brought home a quantity of ſhining ſand, which he alſo apprehended contained gold, but upon trial, it was judged to be of no value, and the ill uſage which on account of this ſuppoſed miſtake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards, the chancellor of *Denmark* ſhewed a ſmall parcel of this ſand to a *French* chemiſt (the reſt by the king's orders had been thrown into the ſea); and this *Frenchman* extracted two ounces of pure gold, out of twenty ounces of that ſand [q].

BUT to return to *Frobiſher*; he commanded her majeſty's ſhip *The Triumph*, in the famous ſea-fight with the *Spaniſh Armada*, and therein did ſuch excellent ſervice, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on that ſignal occaſion [r]. In

[p] Stowe's Annals, p. 808.
[q] See Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 558.
[r] Camden's Annals, p. 576.

1590, he commanded a ſquadron on the coaſt of *Spain*, which hindered the coming home of the plate-fleet [s]. In 1592, Sir *Martin Frobiſher* took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, which went to the coaſt of *Spain*; and though he had but three ſhips, yet he made a ſhift to burn one rich galleon, and bring home another [t]. In 1594, he ſailed to the coaſt of *France*, to aſſiſt in retaking *Breſt*, which was attacked by land by ſir *John Norris*, with three thouſand *Engliſh* forces, at the ſame time that our admiral blocked up the port. The garriſon defended themſelves bravely, till ſuch time as ſir *Martin* landed his ſailors, and deſperately attacking the place, carried it, but with the loſs of ſeveral captains, ſir *Martin* himſelf receiving a ſhot in the ſide, and this through want of ſkill in his ſurgeon, proved the cauſe of his death, which happened at *Plymouth* within a few days after his return [u]. He was one of the moſt able ſeamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great preſence of mind, and equal to almoſt any undertaking; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, even to a degree of ſeverity, which hindered his being beloved [w].

THOMAS Cavendiſh of *Trimley* in the county of *Suffolk*, Eſq; was a gentleman deſcended from a noble family of *Devonſhire*, and poſſeſſed of a very plentiful eſtate, which he, being a man of wit, and great good humour, hurt pretty deeply by his expences at court. Upon this, he took it into his head to repair his ſhattered fortunes at the

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[s] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177. [t] Ibid. p. 180. [u] Camden's Annals, p. 680. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. [w] Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182.

the expence of the *Spaniards* [q]. With which view he built two ſhips from the ſtocks, one of a hundred and twenty, the other of threeſcore tons; and with theſe and a bark of forty tons, he ſailed from *Plymouth* on the twenty-firſt of *July* 1586. He firſt made the coaſt of *Barbary*, then ſteered for *Brazil*, and entered the ſtreights of *Magellan*, the fifth of *January* 1587, and paſſed them very happily; then coaſting along *Chili* and *Peru*, they took abundance of rich prizes, continuing their courſe as high as *California*, they there took the St. *Anne*, which Mr. *Cavendiſh*, in a letter to my lord *Hunſdon*, rightly calls an *Acapulco* ſhip, though in moſt relations of his voyage, ſhe is ſtiled the admiral of the *South-Seas*. Her cargo was of immenſe value, which his ſhips being too ſmall to carry, he was forced to burn, taking out of her, however, as much gold as was worth ſixty thouſand pounds. He then ſteered for the *Phillipine* iſlands, where he ſafely arrived, and proceeded from them to *Java Major*, which he reached the firſt of *March* 1588. He doubled *The Cape of Good Hope*, the firſt of *June*, and ſo without any remarkable accident returned ſafe to *Plymouth*, the ninth of *September* in the ſame year, having ſailed compleatly round the globe, and brought home an immenſe fortune [r]. This, however, he quickly waſted, and in the year 1591, was compelled to think of another voyage, which was far from being ſo ſucceſsful as the former. He left *Plymouth* the twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt* 1591, with three ſtout ſhips and two barks. On the

[q] Camden's Annals, p. 552. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 401. [r] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 803. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p 57. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 401.

eighth of *April* 1592, he fell in with the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and continued in them to the fifteenth of *May*, when on account of the badneſs of the weather he determined to return; which accordingly he did to the coaſt of *Brazil*, and there died of grief. One of his ſhips *The Deſire*, under the command of Mr. *John Davis*, actually paſſed the ſtreights [z].

ANOTHER great adventurer by ſea was Mr. *Edward Fenton*, a gentleman who ſeems to have been a favourite and dependant on the potent earl of *Leiceſter*. Of this gentleman's voyage we have ſeveral authentic accounts; and yet it is not eaſy to apprehend the true deſign of it. The inſtructions given by the privy-council to Mr. *Fenton*, and which are ſtill preſerved, ſay expreſly, that he ſhould endeavour the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; but by a new route which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and being arrived at the *Moluccos*, he was to go from thence to the *South-Seas*, and to attempt his return by the ſuppoſed north-weſt paſſage, and not by any means to think of paſſing the ſtreights of *Magellan*, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity [a]. Notwithſtanding theſe inſtructions, Sir *William Monſon* tells us plainly, that Mr. *Fenton* was ſent to try his fortune in the *South-Seas* [b]; and ſo himſelf underſtood it. In the month of *May* 1582, Mr. *Fenton* left the *Engliſh* coaſt, with three ſtout ſhips and a bark. With theſe he ſailed, firſt to the coaſt of *Africa*, and then for that of *Brazil* directly, from whence he intend-

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[z] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 842. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1182.
[a] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 704. [b] Naval Tracts, p. 402.

ed to have ſailed for the ſtreights of *Magellan*, but hearing there that the king of *Spain*, who had better intelligence, it ſeems, of his project and intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his inſtructions, had ſent don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, with a ſtrong fleet into the ſtreights to intercept him, he upon mature deliberation reſolved to return. Putting into a *Portugueze* ſettlement to refit, he there met with three of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, one of which was their vice-admiral, which he ſunk, after a very briſk engagement, and then put to ſea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral captain *Luke Ward*, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived ſafely in *England* on the thirty-firſt of *May* 1583[c]; but as to Mr. *Fenton*, we have no diſtinct account of him, only Sir *William Monſon* ſays, that he returned home without ſeeing the ſtreights, which ſufficiently ſhews, that he did not periſh in this undertaking[d]; nay, I have found in ſome MS. notes on *Hakluyt*'s voyages, that he commanded her majeſty's ſhip the *Antelope*, in the engagement with the *Spaniſh Armada*[e].

NOTWITHSTANDING the diſappointment which this gentleman met with, freſh attempts were made for the diſcovery of this ſo much talked of paſſage to the north-weſt, in which captain *John Davis* was employed. The firſt was in 1585; a ſecond time he ſailed in 1586; but in both voyages atchieved nothing beyond raiſing of his

[c] We have an account of this voyage, written by this captain Luke Ward, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 757. [d] Naval Tracts, p. 402. [e] We find in the liſt of ſhips given us by Sir William Monſon, the Antelope aſſigned to Sir Henry Palmer, and the Mary Roſe to captain Fenton; but as theſe ſhips ſtand together, it is not impoſſible that the names of their commanders may have been exchanged.

own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years [r], Sir *William Monſon* tells us, that he conferred with Mr. *Davis*, as well as Sir *Martin Frobiſher* on this ſubject, and that they were able to give him no more aſſurance, than thoſe who had never gone ſo far; though he confeſſes, that they did offer him ſome very plauſible reaſons to prove, that ſuch a paſſage there was. In his diſcourſe on this ſubject, he labours hard to prove the undertaking impracticable; but admitting it were not ſo, he pretends to ſhew, that no ſuch mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped by this diſcovery. He concludes his diſcourſe with hinting, that a more profitable, and at the ſame time a more probable attempt, might be made by ſailing due north under the pole, which he ſuppoſes would render the direct paſſage between us and *China*, no more than fifteen hundred leagues [s].

AMONGST the naval heroes of this glorious reign, we muſt not forget *George Clifford* earl of *Cumberland*, who undertook many expeditions, both in *Europe* and the *Weſt-Indies*, at his own expence, and in ſeveral, hazarded his perſon, merely to ſerve his queen and country, and thereby acquire a juſt right to fame. In ſome of thoſe voyages, Sir *William Monſon* aſſiſted, aad has left us accounts of them, and of the reſt we have many relations extant. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by theſe teſtimonies of his public ſpirit; and therefore the queen, to ſhew how juſt a ſenſe ſhe had of his zeal and reſolution, honoured him,

[r] We have an account of all the Voyages in Hakluyt, as alſo of a Voyage of his to the Eaſt Indies in 1604. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 132. [s] Naval Tracts, p. 426.

him, in the year 1592, with a garter; which, in her reign, was never beſtowed, till it had been deſerved by ſignal ſervices to the public. This noble peer ſurvived the queen, and was in great favour and high eſteem with her ſucceſſor. He deceaſed in 1605, and was the laſt heir-male of his noble family [h].

Sir *Robert Dudley*, ſon to the great earl of *Leiceſter*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his application to maritime affairs, by his great ſkill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent ſeamen, as well by his perſonal exploits, which were ſuch, as deſerve to be remembered. In 1594, he fitted out a ſquadron of four ſail at his own expence, and leaving *Southampton* on the 6th of *November*, proceeded for the coaſt of *Spain*, where he loſt the company of the other three ſhips. This however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*; and in his paſſage, he took two large ſhips, though of no great value. After remaining ſome time about the iſland of *Trinidada*, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning home, in a much worſe condition than he came out; and yet, coming up in his paſſage with a *Spaniſh* ſhip of 600 tons, his own veſſel being of no greater burthen than two hundred, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhauſted, and then left her; but in ſo torn, and ſhattered a condition, that ſhe afterwards ſunk. This made the ninth ſhip which he had either taken, ſunk, or burnt in his voyage [i]. He lived many years afterwards, though a voluntary exile in *Italy*, where

[h]. Camden, Stowe, Speed, Hollingſhed. [i] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 574.

where he projected the making *Leghorn* a free port, which has been of ſuch mighty conſequence to the duke of *Tuſcany*, ever ſince, and was himſelf created by the emperor *Ferdinand* the ſecond, a duke of the holy *Roman* empire[k].

SIR *Richard Hawkins*, ſon to the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, of whom we have before treated, was born at *Plymouth*, in *Devonſhire*, and as he was little inferior to his father in skill or courage, he too much reſembled him in his misfortunes[l]. In 1593, he fitted out two large ſhips, and a pinnance, at his own expence, and had the queen's commiſſion to empower him to infeſt the *Spaniards*, in *South-America*. His expedition was unlucky from his firſt ſetting out; and yet, notwithſtanding a number of untoward accidents, he reſolutely perſiſted in his deſign of paſſing the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and ſurrounding the globe, as *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* had done. He ſhared, however, in none of their ſucceſs, though he met with moſt of their misfortunes. One captain *Tharleton*, who had been very culpable in diſtreſſing Mr. *Cavendiſh* in his laſt voyage, was guilty of the like baſeneſs towards Sir *Richard Hawkins*; for though he knew his pinnance was burnt, he deſerted him at the river of *Plate*, and returned home, leaving Sir *Richard* to purſue his voyage through the ſtreights of *Magellan* with one ſhip only, which with equal prudence and reſolution he performed in the ſpring of the year 1594, and entering into the *South Seas* took ſeveral prizes, one of which was of conſiderable value. On the coaſts of *Peru*, he was attacked by

[k] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 761. [l] Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 391.

by *Don Bertrand de Caſtro*, who had with him a ſquadron of eight ſail, and two thouſand choice men on board; yet *Hawkins* made a ſhift to diſengage himſelf, after he had done the *Spaniards* incredible damage. But ſtaying too long in the *South-Seas*, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a ſecond time by admiral *de Caſtro*, who was now ſtronger than before; yet *Hawkins* defended himſelf gallantly for three days, and three nights, and then moſt of his men being killed, his ſhip in a manner ſinking under him, and himſelf dangerouſly wounded, he was prevailed on to ſurrender upon very honourable terms, *viz.* That himſelf, and all on board, ſhould have a free paſſage to *England*, as ſoon as might be. After he was in the enemies hands, *Don Bertrand de Caſtro* ſhewed him a letter from the king of *Spain*, to the vice-roy of *Peru*, wherein was contained a very exact account of *Hawkins*'s expedition, the number of his ſhips, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, *&c.* which demonſtrated how cloſe a correſpondence his catholic majeſty entertained with ſome who were too well acquainted with queen *Elizabeth*'s councils [m]. He continued a long time priſoner in *America*, where he was treated with great humanity by admiral *de Caſtro*; but in the end, by order of the court of *Spain*, he was ſent thither inſtead of returning to *England*, and remained for ſeveral years a priſoner in *Seville* and *Madrid*. At length he was releaſed, and returned to his native country, where he ſpent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures, to the time of his being taken by

[m] Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 122, 143, 154, 169.

by the *Spaniards* [n], and intended to have written a ſecond part, in which he was prevented by a ſudden death; for having ſome buſineſs which called him to attend the privy council, he was ſtruck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. *Weſtcot*, ſpeaking of this accident, ſays very juſtly of this gentleman and his father [o]; *That if fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age.* Some of his deſcendants are ſtill remaining in *Devonſhire*, but in an obſcure condition [p].

CAPTAIN *James* (by many called *John Lancaſter*) was fitted out by ſome merchants of *London*, to cruiſe on the coaſt of *Brazil*, then in the hands of the *Spaniards*. He ſailed from *Dartmouth* the 30th of *November*, 1594, with three ſhips, one of 140, another of 170, and the third of 60 tons. On board theſe were two hundred and ſeventy-five men and boys. In the ſpace of a few weeks, they took thirty-nine *Spaniſh* ſhips, four of which they kept, and plundered the reſt; and then joining with captain *Venner*, at the iſle of *May*, they ſteered for the coaſt of *Brazil*, where they took the city of *Fernambuco*, on the 20th of *March*, 1595, in a manner ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory; for captain *Lancaſter* ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to

[n] This Book was put to the Preſs in his Life-time, but was publiſhed by a Friend after his Deceaſe, in 1562, in folio, under the Title of the obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage to the South-Sea. A. D. 1593. Printed for John Jaggard at the hand and ſtar in Fleet-ſtreet. See alſo Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv p. 1367. and Captain Ellis's Account, p. 1415.
[o] Deſcription of Devonſhire, Art. Plymouth. M. S. [p] Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 392.

to pieces on the ſhore, and ſunk his boats, that his men might ſee, they muſt either die or conquer; the ſight of which ſo frighted the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, that after a very poor defence they abandoned the lower town. This the *Engliſh* held for thirty days, in which ſpace they were attacked eleven times by the enemy [q]. The ſpoil was exceeding rich, and in ſo great a quantity, that captain *Lancaſter* hired three ſail of large *Dutch* ſhips, and four *French-men* to carry it home; and having thus encreaſed his fleet to fifteen ſhips, he brought them ſafely into the *Downs*, in the month of *July* 1595. This was the moſt gainful adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears ſo conſpicuouſly therein, that he deſerves to be ever remembred with honour [r], even ſuppoſing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from ſeveral circumſtances in the relations, that he was the ſame who opened the trade to the *Indies*.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the *Eaſt-India* company by queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1600. Their firſt ſtock conſiſted of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, and the firſt fleet they fitted out, as a company, conſiſted of four large ſhips, which ſailed from *London* the 13th of *February* 1600, under the command of this Mr. *James Lancaſter*, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to *Achen*, very ſucceſsfully, and eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* trade throughout the *Indies*, as happily and prudently as could be wiſhed. In his return, his ſhip, which was the *Dragon*, was in the utmoſt peril off the *Cape of Good Hope*, having loſt her rudder, and being

[q] Camden. Annal. p. 683. [r] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

ing otherwiſe much damaged, yet he refuſed to go off board the *Hector*, contenting himſelf with writing a ſhort letter to the company, wherein he told them, they might be ſure he would do his utmoſt to ſave the ſhip and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of thoſe who were with him; adding this remarkable poſtſcript in the midſt of his confuſion,

THE paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies *lies in* 62°, 30, *by the North-Weſt, on the* America *ſide.*

HE had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. *Helena*, where he repaired his weather-beaten ſhip as well as he could; brought her ſafely into the *Downs*, the 11th of *September* 1603; and lived near thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this ſucceſsful voyage [s].

CAPTAIN *William Parker*, of *Plymouth*, was fitted out by certain merchants to cruize on the *Spaniards*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, in 1601. His whole ſtrength conſiſted in two ſhips, one of 130, and the other of 60 tons, with about two hundred and twenty men [t]. He ſailed in the month of *November*, reduced St. *Vincent*, one of the *Cape de Verd*-iſlands; then ſteering for the coaſt of *America*, he took the town of *la Rancheria*, in the iſland of *Cubagua*, where the pearl-fiſhery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to *Porto Bello*, which was then a very ſtrong, well-built town; entering the port by moon-light, he paſſed without reſiſtance, and attacked the place by fur-

[s] Camden. Annal. p. 639. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 747.
[t] Harris's collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 747.

ſurprize [u]. The governor, *Don Pedro Melendez*, made a gallant defence in the king's treaſury, to which he retreated; but at length that too was carried by aſſault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being conſiderable, and the beſt part of it, captain *Parker* diſtributed amongſt his men. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, our heroe behaved moſt generouſly towards the enemy. He ſet *Don Pedro* at liberty, out of reſpect to his courage; he ſpared the place, becauſe it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he ſet his priſoners at large, becauſe the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ranſom. Having done all this, he paſſed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the *Spaniards* ſuppoſed they ſhould infallibly have ſunk his veſſels, and returned with immortal glory to *Plymouth-Sound*, *May* the 6th, 1602 [w]. The *Spaniards* themſelves mention his behaviour with honour, and applauſe.

THESE are the principal naval heroes, who flouriſhed in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was ſtrongly laid of the prodigious maritime power, and extenſive commerce, which the *Engliſh* nation have ſince enjoyed. I ſhall conclude, with wiſhing that the ſame generous ſpirit may again ariſe, with a force that may excite us to emulate the wiſdom, courage, induſtry and zeal for the public good, which animated our anceſtors, and enabled them to ſurmount all difficulties, and to ſpread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

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[u] See the Captain's Relation in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1243. [w] Life of Captain Parker, in a Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devon. M. S.

The End of the firſt Volume.

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